ASIATICK RESEARCHES;

OR,

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

SOCIETY INSTITUTED IN BENGAL,

FOR INQUIRING INTO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,

THE

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,

OF

A S I A.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

AS it ſeemed proper to exhibit at one View, the Whole of Lieutenant WILFORD's learned Eſſay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, there was not Room in this Volume for a Meteorological Journal; and it may be doubted whether the Utility of ſuch Diaries compenſates for their Tedìouſneſs, and for the Space which they occupy: the two Specimens already publiſhed, will give a correct Idea of the Weather in this Part of *India*. Very copious and intereſting Materials for the Fourth Volume are now ready for the Preſs; but a ſhort Paper on the Code of *Siameſe* Laws, which was too haſtily announced, has been unfortunately loſt; and we cannot expect that Captain LIGHT, the only *Engliſhman* among us who underſtands the Language of *Siam*, ſhould find Leiſure, in his preſent important Station, to compoſe another Account of that curious, but abſtruſe, Work.

I.

THE EIGHTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24th FEBRUARY,

By the PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have taken a general view, at our five last annual meetings, of as many celebrated nations, whom we have proved, as far as the subject admits of proof, to have descended from three primitive stocks, which we call for the present, *Indian*, *Arabian*, *Tartarian*; and we have nearly travelled over all *Asia*, if not with a perfect coincidence of sentiment, at least with as much unanimity as can be naturally expected in a large body of men, each of whom must assert it as his right, and consider it as his duty, to decide on all points, for himself; and never to decide on obscure points, without the best evidence that can possibly be adduced. Our travels will this day be concluded; but our historical researches would have been left incomplete, if we had passed without attention over the numerous races of borderers who have long been established on the limits of *Arabia*, *Persia*, *India*, *China*,

 and

and *Tartary*; over the wild tribes residing in the mountainous parts of those extensive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the islands annexed by geographers to their *Asiatick* division of this globe.

Let us take our departure from *Idume*, near the gulf of *Elanitis*, and having encircled *Asia*, with such deviations from our course as the subject may require, let us return to the point from which we began; endeavouring, if we are able, to find a nation who may clearly be shown, by just reasoning from their language, religion, and manners, to be neither *Indians*, *Arabs*, nor *Tartars* pure or mixed; but always remembering, that any small family detached in an early age from the parent stock, without letters, with few ideas beyond objects of the first necessity, and consequently with few words, and fixing their abode on a range of mountains, in an island, or even in a wide region before uninhabited, might, in four or five centuries, people their new country, and would necessarily form a new language, with no perceptible traces, perhaps, of that spoken by their ancestors. *Edom*, or *Idume*, and *Erithra*, or *Phenice*, had originally, as many believed, a similar meaning, and were derived from words denoting a *red* colour; but whatever be their derivation, it seems indubitable, that a race of men were anciently settled in *Idume*, and in *Median*, whom the oldest and best *Greek* authors call *Erythreans*, who were very distinct from the *Arabs*; and whom, from the concurrence of many strong testimonies, we may safely refer to the *Indian* stem. M. D'HERBELOT mentions a tradition (which he treats indeed as a fable) that a colony of those *Idumeans* had migrated from the northern shores of the *Erythrean* Sea, and sailed across the *Mediterranean* to *Europe*, at the time fixed by chronologers for the passage of EVANDER, with his *Arcadians*, into *Italy*, and that both *Greeks* and *Romans* were the progeny of these emigrants. It is not on vague and suspected traditions that we must build our belief

of ſuch events: for NEWTON, who advanced nothing in ſcience without demonſtration, and nothing in hiſtory without ſuch evidence as he thought concluſive, aſſerts from authorities, which he had carefully examined, that the *Idumean* voyagers "carried with them "both arts and ſciences, among which were their "aſtronomy, navigation, and letters; for in *Idume* "(ſays he) they had *letters* and *names for conſtellations* "before the days of JOB, who mentions them." JOB, indeed, or the author of the book which takes its name from him, was of the *Arabian* ſtock, as the language of that ſublime work inconteſtibly proves; but the invention and propagation of letters and aſtronomy, are, by all, ſo juſtly aſcribed to the *Indian* family, that, if STRABO and HERODOTUS were not groſsly deceived, the adventurous *Idumeans*, who firſt gave names to the ſtars, and hazarded long voyages in ſhips of their own conſtruction, could be no other than a branch of the *Hindu* race. In all events, there is no ground for believing them of a *fourth* diſtinct lineage; and we need ſay no more of them, till we meet them again on our return, under the name of *Phenicians*.

As we paſs down the formidable ſea which rolls over its coral bed between the coaſt of the *Arabs*, or thoſe who ſpeak the pure language of ISMAÏL, and that of the *Ajams*, or thoſe who *mutter it barbarouſly*, we find no certain traces on the *Arabian* ſide, of any people who were not originally *Arabs* of the genuine or mixed breed. Anciently, perhaps, there were *Troglodytes* in part of the peninſula, but they ſeem to have been long ſupplanted by the *Nomades*, or wandering herdſmen; and who thoſe *Troglodytes* were, we ſhall ſee very clearly, if we deviate a few moments from our intended path, and make a ſhort excurſion into countries very lately explored on the Weſtern or *African* ſide of the Red Sea.

That the written *Abyssinian* language, which we call *Ethiopick*, is a dialect of old *Chaldean*, and sister of *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, we know with certainty; not only from the great multitude of identical words, but (which is a far stronger proof) from the similar grammatical arrangement of the several idioms. We know, at the same time, that it is written, like all the *Indian* characters, from the left hand to the right, and that the vowels are annexed, as in *Dévanágarì*, to the consonants; with which they form a syllabic system, extremely clear and convenient, but disposed in a less artificial order than the system of letters now exhibited in the *Sanscrit* grammars; whence it may justly be inferred, that the order contrived by PA'NINI, or his disciples, is comparatively modern; and I have no doubt, from a cursory examination of many old inscriptions on pillars, and in caves, which have obligingly been sent to me from all parts of *India*, that the *Nágarî* and *Ethiopian* letters had at first a similar form. It has long been my opinion, that the *Abyssinians* of the *Arabian* stock, having no symbols of their own to represent articulate sounds, borrowed those of the black Pagans, whom the *Greeks* call *Troglodytes*, from their primeval habitations in natural caverns, or in mountains excavated by their own labour. They were probably the first inhabitants of *Africa*, where they became in time the builders of magnificent cities, the founders of seminaries for the advancement of science and philosophy, and the inventors (if they were not rather the importers) of symbolical characters. I believe, on the whole, that the *Ethiops* of *Meroë* were the same people with the first *Egyptians*, and consequently, as it might easily be shown, with the original *Hindus*. To the ardent and intrepid Mr. BRUCE, whose travels are, to my taste, uniformly agreeable and satisfactory, though he thinks very differently from me on the language and genius of the *Arabs*, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate information concerning

cerning the nations eſtabliſhed near the *Nile*, from its fountains to its mouths, than all *Europe* united could before have ſupplied; but ſince he has not been at the pains to compare the ſeven languages, of which he has exhibited a ſpecimen, and ſince I have not leiſure to make the compariſon, I muſt be ſatisfied with obſerving, on his authority, that the dialects of the *Gafots* and the *Gallas*, the *Agows* of both races, and the *Falaſhas*, who muſt originally have uſed a *Chaldean* idiom, were never preſerved in writing, and the *Ambarick* only in modern times: they muſt, therefore, have been for ages in fluctuation, and can lead, perhaps, to no certain concluſion as to the origin of the ſeveral tribes who anciently ſpoke them. It is very remarkable, as Mr. BRUCE and Mr. BRYANT have proved, that the *Greeks* gave the appellation of *Indians* both to the ſouthern nations of *Africk*, and to the people among whom we now live: nor is it leſs obſervable, that, according to EPHORUS, quoted by STRABO, they called all the ſouthern nations in the world *Ethiopians*, thus uſing *Indian* and *Ethiop* as convertible terms: but we muſt leave the Gymnoſophiſts of *Ethiopia*, who ſeemed to have profeſſed the doctrines of BUDDHA, and enter the great *Indian* Ocean, of which their *Aſiatick* and *African* brethren were probably the firſt navigators.

On the iſlands near *Yemen*, we have little to remark: they appear now to be peopled chiefly by *Mohammedans*, and afford no marks of diſcrimination, with which I am acquainted, either in language or manners: but I cannot bid farewell to the coaſt of *Arabia*, without aſſuring you, that, whatever may be ſaid of *Ommán*, and the *Scythian* colonies, who, it is imagined, was formerly ſettled there, I have met with no trace, in the maritime part of *Yemen*, from *Aden* to *Maſkat*, of any nation who were not either *Arabs* or *Abyſſinian* invaders.

Between

Between that country and *Iran* are ſome iſlands, which, from their inſignificance in our preſent inquiry, may here be neglected: and as to the *Curds*, or other independent races, who inhabit the branches of *Taurus*, or the banks of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, they have, I believe, no written language, nor any certain memorials of their origin. It has, indeed, been aſſerted by travellers, that a race of wanderers in *Diyábecr*, yet ſpeak the *Chaldaick* of our Scripture; and the rambling *Turcmáns* have retained, I imagine, ſome traces of their *Tartarian* idioms: but ſince no veſtige appears, from the gulph of *Perſia* to the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, of any people diſtinct from the *Arabs*, *Perſians*, or *Tartars*, we may conclude, that no ſuch people exiſts in the *Iranian* mountains, and return to thoſe which ſeparate *Iran* from *India*. The principal inhabitants of the mountains called *Párſici*, where they run towards the weſt, *Parveti*, from a known *Sanſcrit* word, where they turn in an eaſtern direction, and *Paropamiſus*, where they join *Imaus* in the north, were anciently diſtinguiſhed among the *Bráhmans* by the name of *Derados*, but ſeem to have been deſtroyed, or expelled, by the numerous tribes of *Afghâns*, or *Patans*, among whom are the *Balójas*, who give their name to a mountainous diſtrict: and there is very ſolid ground for believing that the *Afghâns* deſcended from the *Jews*; becauſe they ſometimes, in confidence, avow that unpopular origin, which, in general, they ſedulouſly conceal, and which other *Muſelmans* poſitively aſſert; becauſe *Hazaret*, which appears to be the *Aſareth* of ESDRAS, is one of their territories; and, principally, becauſe their language is evidently a dialect of the ſcriptural *Chaldaick*.

We come now to the river *Sindhu*, and the country named from it. Near its mouths we find a diſtrict called, by NEARCHUS, in his journal, *Sangada*; which M. D'ANVILLE juſtly ſuppoſes to be the ſeat of the *Sanganians*, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by

by modern travellers, and well known at present by our countrymen in the West of *India*. Mr. Malet, now resident at *Púna*, on the part of the British government, procured, at my request, the *Sanganian* letters, which are a sort of *Nágarì*, and a specimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other *Indian* dialects, from the *Sanscrit*: nor can I doubt, from the descriptions which I have received of their persons and manners, that they are *Pámeras*, as the *Bráhmans* call them, or outcast *Hindus*, immemorially separated from the rest of the nation. It seems agreed, that the singular people called *Egyptians*, and, by corruption, *Gypsies*, passed the *Mediterranean* immediately from *Egypt*; and their motley language, of which Mr. Grellman exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains so many *Sanscrit* words, that their *Indian* origin can hardly be doubted. The authenticity of that vocabulary seems established by a multitude of *Gypsy* words, as *angár*, charcoal; *cáshth*, wood; *pár*, a bank; *bhú*, earth; and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of *Hindustán*, though we know them to be pure *Sanscrit*, scarce changed in a single letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, suggested to me, that those very words might have been taken from old *Egyptian*; and that the *Gypsies* were *Troglodytes* from the rocks near *Thebes*, where a race of banditti still resemble them in their habits and features: but, as we have no other evidence of so strong an affinity between the popular dialects of old *Egypt* and *India*, it seems more probable, that the *Gypsies*, whom the *Italians* call *Zingaros*, and *Zinganos*, were no other than *Zinganians*, as M. D'Anville also writes the word, who might, in some piratical expedition, have landed on the coast of *Arabia*, or *Africa*, whence they might have rambled to *Egypt*, and at length have migrated, or been driven into *Europe*. To the kindness of Mr. Malet I am also indebted for an account of the *Boras*; a remarkable race

race of men, inhabiting chiefly the cities of *Gujarát*, who, though *Muſelmans* in religion, are *Jews* in features, genius, and manners: they form in all places a diſtinct fraternity, and are every where noted for addreſs in bargaining, for minute thrift, and conſtant attention to lucre, but profeſs total ignorance of their origin: though it ſeems probable, that they came firſt with their brethren, the *Afghans*, to the borders of *India*, where they learned in time to prefer a gainful and ſecure occupation in populous towns, to the perpetual wars, and laborious exertions, on the mountains. As to the *Moplas* in the weſtern parts of the *Indian* empire, I have ſeen their books in *Arabick*, and am perſuaded that, like the people called *Malays*, they deſcended from *Arabian* traders and mariners after the age of MUHAMMED.

On the continent of *India*, between the river *Vipáſa*, or *Hyphaſis*, to the weſt, the mountains of *Tripura* and *Cámarúpa* to the eaſt, and *Himálaya* to the north, we find many races of wild people, with more or leſs of that priſtine ferocity, which induced their anceſtors to ſecede from the civilized inhabitants of the plains and valleys: in the moſt ancient *Sanſcrit* books, they are called *Sacas*, *Cirátas*, *Cólas*, *Pulindas*, *Barbaras*, and are all known to *Europeans*, though not all by their true names: but many *Hindu* pilgrims, who have travelled through their haunts, have fully deſcribed them to me; and I have found reaſons for believing, that they ſprang from the old *Indian* ſtem; though ſome of them were ſoon intermixed with the firſt ramblers from *Tartary*, whoſe language ſeems to have been the baſis of that now ſpoken by the *Moguls*.

We come back to the *Indian* Iſlands, and haſten to thoſe which lie to the ſouth-eaſt of *Silán*, or *Taprobane*; for *Silán* itſelf, as we know from the languages, letters, religion, and old monuments, of its various inhabitants, was peopled beyond time of memory by the *Hindu*

Hindu race, and formerly, perhaps, extended much farther to the weſt, and to the ſouth, ſo as to include *Lancà*, or the equinoctial point of the *Indian* aſtronomers: nor can we reaſonably doubt, that the ſame enterpriſing family planted colonies in the other iſles of the ſame ocean, from the *Malayadwípas*, which take their name from the mountain of *Malaya*, to the *Moluccas*, or *Mallicás*, and probably far beyond them. Captain FORREST aſſured me, that he found the iſle of *Bali* (a great name in the hiſtorical poems of *India*) chiefly peopled by *Hindus*, who worſhipped the ſame idols which he had ſeen in this province; and that of *Madhurà* muſt have been ſo denominated, like the well-known territory in the weſtern peninſula, by a nation who underſtood *Sanſcrit*. We need not be ſurpriſed that M. D'ANVILLE was unable to aſſign a reaſon why the *Jebadios*, or *Yavadwípa*, of PTOLEMY, was rendered in the old *Latin* verſion the iſle of *Barley*; but we muſt admire the inquiſitive ſpirit and patient labour of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whom nothing obſervable ſeems to have eſcaped. *Yava* means *barley* in *Sanſcrit*; and though that word, or its regular derivative, be now applied ſolely to *Java*, yet the great *French* geographer adduces very ſtrong reaſons for believing, that the ancients applied it to *Sumatra*. In whatever way the name of the laſt-mentioned iſland may be written by *Europeans*, it is clearly an *Indian* word, implying *abundance* or *excellence*; but we cannot help wondering, that neither the natives of it, nor the beſt informed of our *Pandits*, know it by any ſuch appellation; eſpecially as it ſtill exhibits viſible traces of a primeval connection with *India*. From the very accurate and intereſting account of it, by a learned and ingenious member of our own body, we diſcover, without any recourſe to etymological conjecture, that multitudes of pure *Sanſcrit* words occur in the principal dialects of the *Sumatrans*; that, among their laws, two poſitive rules concerning *ſureties* and *intereſt*, appear

pear to be taken, word for word, from the *Indian* legiſlators NA'RED and HA'RITA; and, what is yet more obſervable, that the ſyſtem of letters uſed by the people of *Rejang* and *Lampún*, has the ſame artificial order with the *Dévanágarì*; but in every ſeries one letter is omitted, becauſe it is never found in the languages of thoſe iſlanders. If Mr. MARSDEN has proved (as he firmly believes, and as we, from our knowledge of his accuracy, may fairly preſume) that clear veſtiges of one ancient language are diſcernible in all the inſular dialects of the ſouthern ſeas from *Madagaſcar* to the *Philippines*, and even to the remoteſt iſlands lately diſcovered, we may infer from the ſpecimens in his account of *Sumatra*, that the parent of them all was no other than the *Sanſcrit*: and with this obſervation, having nothing of conſequence to add on the *Chineſe* iſles, or on thoſe of *Japan*, I leave the fartheſt eaſtern verge of this continent, and turn to the countries now under the government of *China*, between the northern limits of *India*, and the extenſive domain of thoſe *Tartars* who are ſtill independent.

That the people of *Pótyid*, or *Tibet*, were *Hindus*, who engrafted the hereſies of BUDDHA on their old mythological religion, we know from the reſearches of CASSIANO, who long had reſided among them; and whoſe diſquiſitions on their language and letters, their tenets, and forms of worſhip, are inſerted by GIORGI in his curious but prolix compilation, which I have had the patience to read from the firſt to the laſt of nine hundred rugged pages. Their characters are apparently Indian; but their language has now the diſadvantage of being written with more letters than are ever pronounced; for, although it was anciently *Sanſcrit*, and polyſyllabick, it ſeems at preſent, from the influence of *Chineſe* manners, to conſiſt of monoſyllables, to form which, with ſome regard to grammatical derivation,

derivation, it has become neceſſary to ſuppreſs, in common diſcourſe, many letters which we ſee in their books; and thus we are enabled to trace in their writing, a number of *Sanſcrit* words and phraſes, which in their ſpoken dialect are quite undiſtinguiſhable. The two engravings in GIORGI's book, from ſketches by a *Tibetian* painter, exhibit a ſyſtem of *Egyptian* and *Indian* mythology; and a complete explanation of them would have done the learned author more credit than his fanciful etymologies, which are always ridiculous, and often groſsly erroneous.

The *Tartars* having been wholly unlettered, as they freely confeſs, before their converſion to the religion of *Arabia*, we cannot but ſuſpect that the natives of *Eighúr*, *Tancút*, and *Khatà*, who had ſyſtems of letters, and are even ſaid to have cultivated liberal arts, were not of the *Tartarian*, but of the *Indian* family; and I apply the ſame remark to the nation whom we call *Barmas*, but who are known to the *Pandits* by the names of *Bramachinas*, and ſeem to have been the *Brachmani* of PTOLEMY: they were probably rambling *Hindus*, who, deſcending from the northern parts of the eaſtern peninſula, carried with them the letters now uſed in *Ava*, which are no more than a round *Nágarì* derived from the ſquare characters, in which the *Páli*, or ſacred language, of BUDDHA's prieſts in that country, was anciently written; a language, by the way, very nearly allied to the *Sanſcrit*, if we can depend on the teſtimony of M. DE LA LOUBERE; who, though always an acute obſerver, and, in general, a faithful reporter of facts, is charged, by CARPANIUS, with having miſtaken the *Barma* for the *Páli* letters; and when, on his authority, I ſpoke of the *Páli* writing to a young chief of *Aracan*, who read with facility the books of the *Barmas*, he corrected me with politeneſs, and aſſured me, that the *Páli* language was written by the prieſts in a much older character.

Let

Let us now return eaftward, to the fartheft *Afiatick* dominions of *Ruffia*, and rounding them on the north-eaft, pafs directly to the *Hyperboreans*, who, from all that can be learned of their old religion and manners, appear like the *Maffagetæ*, and fome other nations ufually confidered as *Tartars*, to have been really of the *Gothick*, that is, of the *Hindu* race: for I confidently affume, that the *Goths* and *Hindus* had originally the fame language, gave the fame appellations to the ftars and planets, adored the fame falfe deities, performed the fame bloody facrifices, and profeffed the fame notions of rewards and punifhments after death. I would not infift, with M. BAILLY, that the people of *Finland* were *Goths*, merely becaufe they have the word *fhip* in their language, while the reft of it appears wholly diftinct from any of the *Gothick* idioms. The publifhers of the Lord's prayer in many languages, reprefent the *Finnifh* and *Lapponian* as nearly alike, and the *Hungarian* as totally different from them; but this muft be an error, if it be true that a *Ruffian* author has lately traced the *Hungarian* from its primitive feat, between the *Cafpian* and the *Euxine*, as far as *Lapland* itfelf; and fince the *Huns* were confeffedly *Tartars*, we may conclude, that all the northern languages, except the *Gothick*, had a *Tartarian* origin, like that univerfally afcribed to the various branches of *Sclavonian*.

On the *Armenian*, which I never ftudied, becaufe I could not hear of any original compofitions in it, I can offer nothing decifive; but am convinced, from the beft information procurable in *Bengal*, that its bafis was ancient *Perfian*, of the fame *Indian* ftock with the *Zend*, and that it has been gradually changed fince the time when *Armenia* ceafed to be a province of *Irán*. The letters in which it now appears, are allowed to be comparatively modern; and though the learned editor of the tract, by CARPANIUS, on the literature of *Ava*, compares them with the *Páli* characters, yet, if they be not, as I fhould rather imagine, derived from

from the *Pahlavì*, they are probably an invention of ſome learned *Armenian* in the middle of the fifth century. MOSES of *Khoren*, than whom no man was more able to elucidate the ſubject, has inſerted in his hiſtorical work, a diſquiſition on the language of *Armenia*, from which we might collect ſome curious information, if the preſent occaſion required it; but to all the races of men who inhabit the branches of *Caucaſus*, and the northern limits of *Irán*, I apply the remark, before announced generally, that ferocious and hardy tribes, who retire, for the ſake of liberty, to mountainous regions, and form by degrees a ſeparate nation, muſt alſo form, in the end, a ſeparate language, by agreeing on new words to expreſs new ideas; provided that the language which they carried with them, was not fixed by writing, and ſufficiently copious. The *Armenian* damſels are ſaid, by STRABO, to have ſacrificed in the temple of the goddeſs ANAITIS, whom we know, from other authorities, to be the NA'HI'D, or VENUS, of the old *Perſians;* and it is for many reaſons highly probable, that one and the ſame religion prevailed through the whole empire of CYRUS.

Having travelled round the continent, and among the iſlands, of *Aſia*, we come again to the coaſt of the *Mediterranean;* and the principal nations of antiquity, who firſt demand our attention, are the *Greeks* and *Phrygians*, who, though differing ſomewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialect, had an apparent affinity in religion, as well as in language. The *Dorian*, *Ionian* and *Eolian* families having emigrated from *Europe*, to which it is univerſally agreed that they firſt paſſed from *Egypt*, I can add nothing to what has been advanced concerning them in former diſcourſes; and no written monuments of old *Phrygia* being extant, I ſhall only obſerve, on the authority of the *Greeks*, that the grand object of myſterious worſhip in that country, was the Mother of the Gods, or Nature perſonified,

ſonified, as we ſee her among the *Indians* in a thouſand forms, and under a thouſand names. She was called, in the *Phrygian* dialect, Ma', and repreſented in a car drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a towered coronet on her head. Her myſteries (which ſeem to be alluded to in the *Moſaick* law) are ſolemnized, at the autumnal equinox, in theſe provinces, where ſhe is named, in one of her characters, Ma'; is adored in all of them, as the Great Mother; is figured ſitting on a lion, and appears in ſome of her temples with a diadem, or mitre of turrets. A drum is called *dindima* both in *Sanſcrit* and *Phrygian;* and the title of *Dindymena* ſeems rather derived from that word than from the name of a mountain. The Diana of *Epheſus* was manifeſtly the ſame goddeſs in the character of productive Nature: and the Astarte of the *Syrians* and *Phenicians* (to whom we now return) was, I doubt not, the ſame in another form. I may, on the whole, aſſure you, that the learned works of Selden and Jablonski, on the Gods of *Syria* and *Egypt*, would receive more illuſtration from the little *Sanſcrit* book entitled *Chandì*, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology that are diſperſed in the whole compaſs of *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *Hebrew* literature: We are told that the *Phenicians*, like the *Hindus*, adored the Sun, and aſſerted water to be the firſt of created things: nor can we doubt that *Syria*, *Samaria*, and *Phenice*, or the long ſtrip of land on the ſhore of the *Mediterranean*, were anciently peopled by a branch of the *Indian* ſtock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, which, for the preſent, we call *Arabian:* In all three, the oldeſt religion was the *Aſſyrian*, as it is called by Selden; and the *Samaritan* letters appear to have been the ſame at firſt with thoſe of *Phenice;* but the *Syriack* language, of which ample remains are preſerved, and the *Punick*, of which we have a clear ſpecimen in Plautus, and on monuments lately brought to light, were indiſputably of a *Chaldaick* or *Arabick* origin.

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The seat of the first *Phenicians* having extended to *Idume*, with which we began, we have now completed the circuit of *Asia*: but we must not pass over in silence, a most extraordinary people, who escaped the attention (as BARROW observes more than once) of the diligent and inquisitive HERODOTUS: I mean the people of *Judea*, whose language demonstrates their affinity with the *Arabs*; but whose manners, literature, and history, are wonderfully distinguished from the rest of mankind. BARROW loads them with the severe, but just, epithets of malignant, unsocial, obstinate, distrustful, sordid, changeable, turbulent; and describes them as furiously zealous in succouring their own countrymen, but implacably hostile to other nations: yet, with all the sottish perverseness, the stupid arrogance, and the brutal atrocity, of their character, they had the peculiar merit among all races of men under heaven, of preserving a rational and pure system of devotion, in the midst of wild polytheism, inhuman or obscene rites, and a dark labyrinth of errors, produced by ignorance, and supported by interested fraud. Theological inquiries are no part of my present subject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call, from their excellence, *the Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass, from all other books that were ever composed in any age, or in any idiom. The two parts of which the Scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance, in form or style, to any that can be produced from the stores of *Grecian*, *Indian*, *Persian*, or even *Arabian*, learning. The antiquity of those compositions no man doubts; and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief, that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired; but,

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if any thing be the abſolute excluſive property of each individual, it is his belief; and I hope I ſhould be one of the laſt men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others. I mean only to aſſume, what, I truſt, will be readily conceded, that the firſt *Hebrew* hiſtorian muſt be entitled, merely as ſuch, to an equal degree of credit, in his account of all civil tranſactions, with any other hiſtorian of antiquity. How far that moſt ancient writer confirms the reſult of our inquiries into the genealogy of nations, I propoſe to ſhow at our next anniverſary meeting; when, after an approach to demonſtration, in the ſtrict method of the old analyſis, I ſhall reſume the whole argument conciſely and ſynthetically; and ſhall then have condenſed in ſeven diſcourſes, a maſs of evidence, which, if brevity had not been my object, might have been expanded into ſeven large volumes, with no other trouble than that of holding the pen: but (to borrow a turn of expreſſion from one of our poets) "for what "I have produced, I claim only your indulgence; it "is for what I have ſuppreſſed that I am entitled to "your thanks."

OBSERVATIONS

II.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INHABITANTS OF THE GARROW HILLS,

Made during a public Deputation in the Years 1788 and 1789;

By JOHN ELIOT, Esq.

IN the month of *September*, 1788, I was deputed by Government, to inveftigate the duties collected on the *Garrow* Hills, which bound the north eaftern parts of *Bengal;* and, to conciliate the good-will of the people, who had hitherto known no intercourfe with *Europeans*, fome fcarlet cloth was given me by Government to be diftributed to them.

The mountaineers who inhabit different parts of *India*, have been generally confidered favages, equally unreftrained by law and morality, and watchful to take every opportunity of committing depredations on the low country, pillaging the inhabitants, and deftroying their villages, whenever they could do fo with impunity. At *Boglepore*, however, it has been proved, that the hill-people, by good treatment and encouragement, may be in a great degree civilized, and rendered at leaft peaceable and inoffenfive, if not ferviceable. My obfervation of the character and the conduct of the *Garrows*, has induced me to believe the fame good confequences may be expected from encouraging them; but I propofe to relate in plain language, what I experienced on my vifit to them, and leave others to form their own judgment; and, as I am the firft *European* who has travelled among them, I fhall alfo add a few obfervations on the country, and on what attracted my notice as being in any refpect peculiar.

On drawing near the hills, you have a beautiful ſight of three ranges of mountains, riſing one above another; but, on nearer approach, they vaniſh, except the *Gonaſſers*, the lower range, in appearance inſignificantly ſmall. The verdure and rich land, however, fully recompenſe the loſs; and, turn your eye which way you will, you ſee ſomething to cheer the mind, and raiſe the fancy, in the numerous ſmall villages round about, protected from the heat by a variety of trees interſperſed.

The firſt paſs I went to was *Ghoſegong*, ſituated on the weſt ſide of the *Natie* river. Here a great number of *Garrows* reſide at the foot of the paſs in three villages, *Ghoſegong*, *Ghonie*, and *Borack*. The head people of the villages are called *Booneahs*, a name uſed by the head *Rájás* in *Bengal*, when the king reſided at *Gour*. Whence they derived this name I could not learn; and many other things, which might lead to diſcoveries, eſcaped my knowledge from the want of a good interpreter.

Oodassey Boonеah is looked on as the head man of this paſs at preſent, having moſt influence with his ſect; but the rightful chief is Momee, a woman; and her power being, by eſtabliſhed uſage, transferrable by marriage to her huſband, he ought, in conſequence, to preſide; but, from his being a young and ſilly man, the chiefſhip is uſurped by Oodassey, and his uſurpation is ſubmitted to by Momee and her huſband. Oodassey, however, is by no means a violent or artful man. He is far from poſſeſſing a bad diſpoſition; is a mild man; and, by all accounts, takes great pains to do juſtice, and keep up unanimity with his people.

The village of *Ghoſegong* is ſurrounded by a little jungle. On paſſing it, the village is opened to your ſight, conſiſting of *Chaungs*, or houſes, from about thirty to 150 feet long, and twenty or forty broad.

The *Garrows* are called, by the villagers, and upper hill people, *Counch Garrows;* though they themſelves, if you aſk them of what caſt they are, will anſwer, *Garrows*, and not give themſelves any appellation of caſt; though there are many caſts of *Garrows*, but with what differences I had not time to aſcertain.

The ſoil is of a fine black earth, here and there intermixed with ſpots of red earth: its richneſs is plainly ſeen from the quickneſs of vegetation. The rice is in many places equal to the *Benares* long rice. The muſtard-ſeed is twice as big as any produced in the pergunnahs of *Bengal*, where I have been; and the oil it produces is as ſuperior to, as the ſize of its grain is greater than, any other. The hemp is equally good; but, as to its ſuperiority to what may be produced in other pergunnahs, I am unable to ſpeak with certainty: as far as I can judge from my own obſervation, the ſort brought to the *Calcutta* market, is not equal to what is produced on the borders of the hills. The paſture for cattle may be claſſed next in quality to that of *Plaſſy* plain; and this I infer from its being generally known, that the *Sheerpoor* and *Suſung* ghee is nearly as good as that made at *Plaſſy*.

There are rivers at the ſeveral paſſes. Thoſe of note are the *Natie*, *Mahareeſee*, *Summaſſerry*, and *Mahadeo*. On the weſt ſide of the *Natie* is *Ghoſegong*, and on the eaſt the *Suſſoor* paſs. *Abrahamabad*, or *Bygombarry*, is on the eaſt ſide of the *Mahareeſee; Aughur*, on the eaſt of *Summaſſerry;* and *Burradowarrah*, on the weſt of *Mahadeo*. Theſe rivers are all of a ſandy and gravelly bottom, with much limeſtone and iron. The *Mahadeo* has abundance of coals, the oil of which is eſteemed in the hills as a medicine for the cure of cutaneous diſorders; and is reputed to have been firſt diſcovered to the hill people and villagers by a *Fakeer*. The mode of extracting the oil is ſimple:

 A quan-

A quantity of coals are put into an earthern pot, the mouth of which is ſtopped with long graſs, by way of ſtrainer. This pot is put into a large deep pan, perforated at the bottom, ſo as to admit of the neck of the pot being put through it; the pan is ſupported upon bricks, to prevent the neck of the pot from touching the ground, and alſo that a veſſel may be placed under the ſtrainer, as a reſervoir for receiving the oil as it drops. The pan is filled with dry cow-dung, which is uſed as fuel, and extracts the oil in the courſe of an hour.

There are but few ſorts of *fiſh* in theſe rivers: turtle are to be had in great numbers, and are always conſecrated by ſacrifice before they are eaten. The hill people are, however, fully recompenſed for the loſs of fiſh in the rivers, by the great abundance they get from the neighbouring lakes.

A *Garrow* is a ſtout, well-ſhaped man; hardy, and able to do much work; of a ſurly look; flat, *Cáfrí*-like noſe; ſmall eyes, generally blue, or brown; forehead wrinkled; and overhanging eye-brow; with large mouth, thick lips, and face round and ſhort: their colour is of a light or deep brown. Their dreſs conſiſts of a brown girdle, about three inches broad, having in the center a blue ſtripe; it goes round the waiſt, is paſſed between the thighs, and is faſtened behind, leaving one end, or flap, hanging down before, about eight inches: ſometimes it is ornamented with braſs-plates; with rows of ivory, or a white ſtone, ſhaped like bits of tobacco-pipes, about half an inch long; the braſs-plate is made to reſemble a button, or an apothecary's weight, but more indented: ſome have it ornamented with little bits of braſs, ſhaped like a bell. Some wear an ornament on their head, about three or five inches broad, decorated in the ſame manner as the flap, ſerving to keep their hair off

off the face, which gives them a wild, fierce appearance. Some tie their hair on the crown, in a loose careless manner, while others crop it close. The *Booneahs*, or chiefs, wear a silk turban: to the girdle they affix a bag, containing their money and *pauns*; and also a net, for holding the utensils with which they light their pipe, hung near to it by a chain.

The women are the ugliest creatures I ever beheld, short and squat in their stature, with masculine faces, in the features of which they differ little from the men. Their dress consists of a dirty red cloth, striped with blue or white, about sixteen inches broad, which encircles the waist, and covers about three-fourths of the thigh. It never reaches to the knee, and being but just long enough to tie above on the left side, part of the left thigh, when they walk, is exposed. On their necks they have a string of the ornaments above described, resembling tobacco-pipes, twisted thirty or forty times round, but negligently, without any attention to regularity: their breasts are exposed to view, their only clothing being the girdle abovementioned: to their ears are affixed numbers of brass rings, increasing in diameter from three to six inches: I have seen thirty of those rings in each ear: a slit is made in the lobes of the ear, which increases from the weight of the rings, and in time will admit the large number stated. This weight is, however, partly supported by a string, which passes over their heads. A tape, three inches broad, ties their hair, so as to keep it back from their foreheads, though generally it is tied with a string on the crown of the head. The wives of the *Booneahs* cover their heads with a piece of coarse cloth, thirteen or fourteen inches broad, and two feet long, the end of which, with their hair, hangs down behind, flowing loose on their backs. The women work as well as the men, and I have seen them carry as great burthens. Their hands,

hands, even thofe of the wives of the *Booneabs*, bear evident marks of their laborious occupations.

Thefe people eat all manner of food, even dogs, frogs, fnakes, and the blood of all animals. The laft is baked over a flow fire, in hollow green bamboos, till it becomes of a nafty dirty green colour. They are fond of drinking to an excefs. Liquor is put into the mouth of infants almoft as foon as they are able to fwallow. They have various forts of fpirits, but that moftly drank is extracted from rice, foaked in water for three or four days before ufe. Their cookery is fhort, as they only juft heat their provifions; excepting rice and guts, the firft of which is well boiled, and the other ftewed till they are black. Indeed, excepting thefe, their animal food is eaten almoft raw.

In times of fcarcity, many of the hill people fubfift on the *Kebul*, which in growth is faid to be like the *Palmira;* and the interior part of the *trunk*, when pounded and fteeped in water, is an article of food, infomuch as to be the common means of fuftenance during a fcarcity of grain. When boiled, it is of a gelatinous fubftance, and taftes, when frefh, like a fugar-cane: thofe who can afford it, mix rice with it. They alfo fubfift on the *Kutchu*, a fort of *yam*, found in great plenty about the hills. I faw three forts, though I could not learn they had any feparate name. One has a number of buds on it, is faid to be a cooling medicine, and is eaten boiled or baked. Some of them I brought with me from the hills, and being bruifed in the bafket ufed in bringing them from the hills, I cut off the rotten part, which I found to be of no detriment to their growth, although out of the ground. At *Dacca* I gave them to Mr. Richard Johnson, who, I underftand, delivered them to Colonel Kyd, the fuperintendant of the Company's botanical

nical garden, where, I hear, they have produced a very handſome flower. This plant was cultivated by the *Garrows*, nearly in the ſame manner as we do potatoes in *England;* a bud being broken off to be ſown for a plant. The *Garrows* ſay it yields, after it is dug out of the ground, and laid by for the enſuing ſeaſon of cultivation, (commencing immediately on the breaking up of the rains,) from three to ten buds. Another ſort of *Kutchu* grows at the tops of the hills, and is found by its ſprout, which twiſts itſelf round the trunk and branches of trees. I have ſeen the ſprout from ten to twenty feet high: the leaves have three ſegments, like a vine leaf, but more pointed; of deep green, and very ſmall. The root is found from a foot to two feet and a half below the ground, is in ſhape tapering, of a reddiſh colour, and in length from five inches to a foot and a half: it is eaten roaſted. The other ſpecies grows in the ſame manner, but is of a dirty yellow colour.

The houſes of theſe *Garrows*, called *Chaungs*, are raiſed on piles, about three or four feet from the ground, from thirty to 150 feet in length; and in breadth from ten to forty; and are roofed with thatch. The props of the *Chaung* conſiſt of large *ſaul* timbers: in the center there are eight, and on the ſides from eight to thirty: over theſe are placed, horizontally, large timbers, for a ſupport to the roof, and tied faſt, ſometimes with ſtrings; but ſtring is rarely uſed for this purpoſe; the tying-work being moſtly done with ſlips of graſs or cane. The roof is neatly executed, and with as much regularity as any of our Bungalow thatches. When I ſay this, however, I ſpeak of the *Chaungs* of the *Booneahs:* I went into few of the *Chaungs* of the lower claſs. The roof conſiſts of mats and ſtrong graſs. The ſides of the houſe are made from the ſmall hollow bamboos, cut open, flatted, and woven as the common mats are. The floor is made in the ſame manner, but of a ſtronger bamboo. The

Chaung

Chaung conſiſts of two apartments; one floored, and raiſed on piles, as deſcribed; and the other without a floor at one end, for their cattle: at the other end is an open platform, where the women ſit, and work. On one ſide alſo is a ſmall raiſed platform, uſually about ſix feet ſquare, incloſed at the ſides, and open above: here the children play. In the center of the *Chaung* they cook their victuals, a ſpace of about five feet ſquare being covered with earth: on one ſide a little trap-door is made in the floor, for the convenience of the women on certain occaſions, which creates much filth under their *Chaungs*. Indeed, a great part of their dirt is thrown under the *Chaung*: and the only ſcavengers I ſaw, were their hogs; but, luckily for them, they have plenty of thoſe animals.

Bugs cover their wearing apparel, of the ſame ſort as thoſe which infeſt beds in England. During my journey along the hills, I ſuffered very much from them.

The diſpoſition of a *Garrow* could not be accurately known in the ſhort time I had to obſerve it; yet my intercourſe with them, which was of the moſt open nature, will, I think, allow me to ſay ſomething of it.

Their ſurly looks ſeem to indicate ill temper; but this is far from being the caſe, as they are of a mild diſpoſition. They are, moreover, honeſt in their dealings, and ſure to perform what they promiſe. When in liquor, they are merry to the higheſt pitch: then men, women, and children, will dance till they can ſcarce ſtand. Their manner of dancing is as follows: twenty or thirty men of a row ſtanding behind one another, hold each other by the ſides of their belts, and then go round in a circle, hopping on one foot, then on the other, ſinging and keeping time with their muſic, which is animating, though harſh and in-

harmonious,

harmonious, confifting chiefly of tomtoms and brafs pans; the firft generally beaten by the old people, and the laft by the children. The women dance in rows, and hop in the fame manner, but hold their hands out, lowering one hand, and raifing the other, at the fame time, as the mufic beats, and occafionally turning round with great rapidity. The men alfo exhibit military exercifes with the fword and fhield, which they ufe with grace, and great activity. Their dancing at their feftivals lafts two or three days, during which time they drink and feaft to an excefs, infomuch that it requires a day or two afterwards to make them perfectly fober again; yet, during this fit of feftivity and drunkennefs, they never quarrel.

Marriage is in general fettled amongft the parties themfelves, though fometimes by their parents. If it has been fettled by the parties themfelves, and the parents of either refufe their affent, the friends of the oppofite party, and even others unconnected, go, and, by force, compel the diffenters to comply; it being a rule among the *Garrows*, to affift thofe that want their help on thefe occafions, let the difparity of age or rank be ever fo great. If the parents do not accede to the wifh of their child, they are well beaten till they acquiefce in the marriage, which being done, a day is fixed for the fettlement of the contract, or rather for a complimentary vifit from the bride to the bridegroom, to fettle the day of marriage, and the articles of which the feaft fhall confift, as well as the company to be invited; and they then make merry for the night. The invitations on thefe occafions are made by the head man of a *Chaung* fending a *paun* to the inhabitants of another *Chaung*, as they cannot invite one out of a *Chaung* without the reft: the man who carries the *paun* ftates the purpofe for which it is fent; and the next day an anfwer is made, if the invitation be accepted, but not otherwife, as they never wifh to give a verbal refufal; and, therefore, if nobody returns the

the next day, the invitation is underſtood to be re-ſuſed.

On the nuptial day, the parties invited go to the bride's houſe; it being the cuſtom among the *Garrows* for the bride to fetch the bridegroom. When the wine, &c. are ready, and all the company arrived, they begin ſinging and dancing, and now and then take a merry cup; while a party of the women carry the bride to the river, waſh her, and, on their return home, dreſs her out in her beſt ornaments; this completed, it is notified to the company, and the muſic ceaſes: then a party take up the wine, proviſions, drums, pans, and a cock and hen, and carry them to the bridegroom's houſe in proceſſion; the cock and hen being carried by the prieſt; after which, the bride follows, with a party of women, walking in the center till ſhe arrives at the bridegroom's houſe, where ſhe and her party ſeat themſelves in one corner of the *Chaung*, near the door: the remaining viſitors then proceed to the bridegroom's houſe, and the men ſit at the further end of the room, oppoſite to the women: the men then again begin ſinging and dancing; the bridegroom is called for; but, as he retires to another *Chaung*, ſome ſearch is made for him, as if he were miſſing, and, as ſoon as they find him, they give a ſhout: they then carry him to the river, waſh him, return, and dreſs him in his war dreſs; which done, the women carry the bride to her own *Chaung*, where ſhe is put in the center; and notice of this being brought to the viſitors at the bridegroom's houſe, they take up the wine, &c. and prepare to go with the bridegroom, when his father, mother, and family, cry and howl in the moſt lamentable manner, and ſome force is uſed to ſeparate him from them. At laſt they depart; the bride's father leading the way, and the company following one by one, the bridegroom in the center. On entering the bride's *Chaung*, they make a general ſhout,

ſhout, and place the bridegroom on the bride's right hand, and then ſing and dance for a time, till the prieſt proclaiming ſilence, all is quiet; and he goes before the bride and bridegroom, who are ſeated, and aſks ſome queſtions, to which the whole party anſwer *Nummah*, or *good**: this continues a few minutes, after which, the cock and hen being brought, the prieſt takes hold of them by the wings, and holds them up to the company, aſking them ſome queſtions, to which they again reply *Nummah*: ſome grain is then brought, and thrown before the cock and hen, who being employed in picking it, the prieſt takes this opportunity to ſtrike them on the head with a ſtick, to appearance dead; and the whole company, after obſerving them a few ſeconds, call out as before: a knife being then brought, the prieſt cuts the anus of the cock, and draws out the guts; and the company repeat *Nummah*; after which he performs the ſame operation on the hen; and the company give a ſhout, and again call out *Nummah*. They look on this part of the ceremony as very ominous; for ſhould any blood be ſpilt by the firſt blow, or the guts break, or any blood come out with the guts, it would be conſidered as an unlucky marriage. The ceremony being over, the bride and bridegroom, drinking, preſent the bowl to the company, and then they all feaſt, and make merry.

I diſcovered theſe circumſtances of the marriage ceremony of the *Garrows*, from being preſent at the marriage of Lungree, youngeſt daughter of the chief Oodassey, ſeven years of age, and Buglun, twenty-three years old, the ſon of a common *Garrow*: and I may here obſerve, that this marriage, diſproportionate as to age and rank, is a very happy one for Buglun, as he will ſucceed to the *Booneahſhip* and eſtate; for among all the *Garrows*, the youngeſt daughter is always

* I ſuſpect the word to be *Namah*, or *ſalutation* and *reverence*. J.

ways heirefs; and if there be any other children who were born before her, they would get nothing on the death of the *Booneah*. What is more ftrange, if BUGLUN were to die, LUNGREE would marry one of his brothers; and if all his brothers were dead, fhe would then marry the father: and if the father afterwards fhould prove too old, fhe would put him afide, and take any one elfe whom fhe might chufe.

The dead are kept for four days; burnt on a pile of wood in a *Dingy*, or fmall boat, placed on the top of the pile; and the afhes are put into a hole, dug exactly where the fire was, covered with a fmall thatch building, and furrounded with a railing. A lamp is burnt within the building every night, for the fpace of a month or more. The wearing apparel of the deceafed is hung on poles, fixed at each corner of the railing, which, after a certain time, (from fix weeks to two months,) are broken, and then allowed to hang downwards till they fall to pieces. They burn their dead within fix or eight yards of their *Chaungs*, and the ceremony is performed exactly at twelve o'clock at night; the pile is lighted by the neareft relation: after this they feaft, make merry, dance and fing, and get drunk. This is, however, the ceremony to a common *Garrow*. If it be a perfon of rank, the pile is decorated with cloth and flowers, and a bullock facrificed on the occafion, and the head of the bullock is alfo burnt with the corpse. If it be an upper hill *Booneah*, of common rank, the head of one of his flaves would be cut off, and burnt with him. And if it happen to be one of the firft rank *Booneahs*, a large body of his flaves fally out of the hills, and feize a *Hindu*, whofe head they cut off, and burn with their chief. The railed graves of *Booneahs* are decorated with images of animals placed near the graves, and the railing is often ornamented with frefh flowers.

Their

Their religion appears to approximate to that of the *Hindus*: they worſhip MAHADE'VA: and at *Baunjaun*, a paſs in the hills, they worſhip the ſun and moon. To aſcertain which of the two they are to worſhip upon any particular occaſion, their prieſt takes a cup of water, and ſome wheat: firſt calling the name of the ſun, he drops a grain into the water; if it ſinks, they are then to worſhip the ſun; ſhould it not ſink, they then would drop another grain in the name of the moon, and ſo on till one of the grains ſink. All religious ceremonies are preceded by a ſacrifice to their god, of a bull, goat, hog, cock, or dog: in caſes of illneſs, they offer up a ſacrifice in proportion to the ſuppoſed fatality of the diſtemper with which they are afflicted; as they imagine medicine will have no effect, unleſs the deity interfere in their favour, and that a ſacrifice is requiſite to procure ſuch interpoſition.

The ſacrifice is made before an altar conſtructed as follows: two bamboos are erected, ſtripped of all their branches and leaves, except at the extremity of the main ſtem, which is left: a ſtick is fixed near the top of each, to which is tied, at each end, a double ſtring, reaching to two ſide bamboos, about two feet out of the ground, with the tops ſplit, ſo as to make a kind of crown: between the ſtrings are placed bits of ſticks of about a foot in height, at the diſtance of a foot from each other, or more, in proportion to the height of the bamboos. The croſs ſticks thus form a ſquare with the perpendicular ſtrings; and in every other ſquare, croſs ſtrings are tied, beginning with the top ſquare: round the bamboos a ſpace of ſix or eight feet ſquare is cleared, and covered with red earth; and in front, at the diſtance of about ſix or more feet, a ſquare of two feet is cleared, in the center of which a ſmall pit is dug, and ſpread over with red earth: at ſome diſtance from the altar, on the ſide neareſt the hills, two ſplit bamboos are bent into an arch, with the

the ends in the ground, ſo as to form a covering; under this a ſmall mound is raiſed, and a little thatched building erected over it, open at the ſides, under which ſome boiled rice is placed. When thus much is prepared, the prieſt approaches the little pit, and the people aſſembled ſtand behind him. He then mutters ſomething to himſelf; when the animal intended to be ſacrificed is brought, and the head cut off by the prieſt over the pit, ſome holding the head by a rope, and others the body; if the head is not taken off at one blow, it is reckoned unlucky. The blood is collected in a pan, carried to the covered arch, with the head of the animal, and put by the ſide of the mound. A lighted lamp is then brought, and put near the animal's head, when the whole company bow to the ground, and a white cloth is drawn over the arch, it being ſuppoſed their god will then come, and take what he wants: a fire is alſo kept burning during the ceremony between the altar and arch. An hour after, the covering is taken off, the proviſions therein placed, with the animal, are dreſſed for the company, and they make merry.

When a large animal is to be ſacrificed, two ſtaves are put by the ſide of the pit, ſo as to place the animal's neck between them: a bamboo is tied under his neck to the ſtaves, to prevent his head from falling to the ground: he is then ſtretched out by ropes fixed to his legs, and his head is ſevered by the ſtrongeſt man amongſt them.

Their mode of ſwearing at *Ghoſegong* is very ſolemn: the oath is taken upon a ſtone, which they firſt ſalute; then, with their hands joined, and uplifted, their eyes ſtedfaſtly fixed to the hills, they call on MAHADE'VA in the moſt ſolemn manner, telling him to witneſs what they declare, and that he knows whether they ſpeak true or falſe. They then again touch the ſtone with

all the appearance of the utmoſt fear, and bow their heads to it, calling again upon MAHADE'VA. They alſo, during their relation, look ſtedfaſtly to the hills, and keep their right hand on the ſtone. When the firſt perſon ſwore before me, the awe and reverence with which the man ſwore, forcibly ſtruck me; my *Moherrir* could hardly write, ſo much was he affected by the ſolemnity. In ſome of the hills they put a tiger's bone between their teeth, before they relate the ſubject to be depoſed: others take earth in their hand; and, on ſome occaſions, they ſwear with their weapons in their hands. I underſtand their general belief to be, that their god reſides in the hills; and, though this belief may ſeem inconſiſtent with an awful idea of the divinity, theſe people appeared to ſtand in the utmoſt awe of their deity, from their fear of his puniſhing them for any miſconduct in their frequent excurſions to the hills.

Their puniſhments conſiſt moſtly in fines. The *Booneahs* decide on all complaints, except adultery, murder, and robbery, which are tried by a general aſſembly of the neighbouring chiefs, and are puniſhed with inſtant death. As the money collected by fines was appropriated to feaſting and drunkenneſs, I wiſhed to ſee if I could induce them to give over this mode of puniſhing; but they told me plainly, they would not allow me to interfere; yet, as I had been very kind to them, when a man was to be puniſhed with death, they would let me know.

When any thing particular is to be ſettled, they all aſſemble in their war-dreſs, which conſiſts of a blue cloth, (covering part of the back, and tied at the breaſt, where the four corners are made to meet,) a ſhield, and a ſword: they ſit in a circle, the ſword being fixed in the ground before them. Their reſolutions are put into immediate execution, if they relate to war;

war; if to other matters, they feaſt, ſing, dance, and get drunk.

Their chiefs debate the ſubject of deliberation; and their wives, on theſe occaſions, have as much authority as the chiefs. This I had an opportunity of ſeeing, when I ſettled the revenue they had to pay, having told them, they would be well protected from any oppreſſion while under me; and that no more ſhould be taken from them, than was finally ſettled. Some of the chiefs wiſhed to pay an adequate ſum, when MOMEE, wife to the principal chief, roſe, and ſpoke, for ſome minutes, after which ſhe aſked me if I declared the truth to them, and on my replying in the affirmative, they agreed to the revenue I demanded. SUJANI, wife of another chief, then came to me, and told me, I had heard what ſhe ſuffered from the oppreſſion of the *Zemindars*, and begged, with tears in her eyes, that I would get juſtice done to her. I made a particular enquiry into her complaint, and made the *Darogah* of the paſs reſtore her cattle: and ſo much confidence had they at laſt in me, that they requeſted I would make a fair diviſion of their lands, which they would never ſuffer the *Zemindar* or his people to do.

Their mode of ſettling their proportions of payments, &c. is by ſticks: each of the inferior *Garrows* places as many ſticks in a pan as he can give of the article required: the whole are then counted, and the deficiencies made up by the *Booneahs*. All their accounts alſo are kept by ſticks, as well as their agreements.

I have before ſaid, on occaſions of illneſs, a ſacrifice is made to the deity. I endeavoured to find out what medicines they uſe, but I cannot ſay I have been ſucceſsful in this material point: I imagine, however,

however, they muſt have ſome valuable plants, from the many great cures that appear to have been effected in wounds. The *neem* leaf ſeems to be much uſed in inflammations, and blue vitriol is applied to freſh wounds: this laſt medicine appears to have been introduced by the natives of *Bengal*. Charms and ſpells are common among the *Garrows*. The tiger's noſe, ſtrung round a woman's neck, is conſidered as a great preſervative in child-birth; they aver it keeps off giddineſs, and other diſorders conſequent on this event. A woman, for nearly a month before her time, is not permitted to ſtir out of her *Chaung:* ſix days after delivery, ſhe and her child are carried to the river, and bathed.

The ſkin of the ſnake, called the *Burrawar*, is eſteemed a cure for external pains, when applied to the parts affected.

Inoculation is common among the *Garrows*; but this appears to have been only of late years, and was introduced among them by JOYNARAIN, *Zemindár* of *Sheerpour*, through the interference and recommendation of ſome of the hill traders, who having been in the hills at a time when the *Garrows* were afflicted with this fatal diſorder, and dying without being able to aſſiſt themſelves, perſuaded the chiefs to ſend a deputation to the *Zemindár*, and he ſent them his family doctor, who is repreſented to have been very capable, and, by his ſkill, introduced inoculation among the *Garrows*; and this induced them to provide themſelves yearly with an inoculator, whom they reward in the moſt liberal manner, and take as much care of, while he reſides among them, as if he were their father. The inoculator is obliged to obtain from the *Zemindár*, a *ſunnud*, permitting him to go into the hills, and for which he pays a very handſome fee; but the *Zemin-*

dár is very cautious whom he permits to go into the hills to officiate on theſe occaſions.

Among the *Garrows*, a madneſs exiſts, which they call transformation into a tiger, from the perſon who is afflicted with this malady walking about like that animal, ſhunning all ſociety. It is ſaid, that, on their being firſt ſeized with this complaint, they tear their hair, and rings from their ears, with ſuch force as to break the lobe. It is ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by a medicine applied to the forehead: but I endeavoured to procure ſome of the medicine thus uſed, without effect: I imagine it rather to be created by frequent intoxications, as the malady goes off in the courſe of a week or a fortnight: during the time the perſon is in this ſtate, it is with the utmoſt difficulty he is made to eat or drink. I queſtioned a man, who had thus been afflicted, as to the manner of his being ſeized, and he told me he only felt a giddineſs without any pain, and that afterwards he did not know what happened to him.

The language of the *Garrows* is a little mixed with the *Bengáli:* a few words of it I annex. I had made a tolerable collection for a vocabulary, but unfortunately I loſt it, by one of my boats ſinking in the *Berhampooter.*

To drink,	ring,bo.
eat,	cha,ſuch.
bathe,	ha,boo,ah.
waſh,	ſu,ſuck.
fight,	den,juck.
wound,	ma,juck.

come,

come,	ra,ba,ſuck.
go,	ree.
call,	gum,ma.
ſleep,	ſee,ſuck.
run,	ca,tan,juck.
bring,	rap,pa.
ſit,	a,jen,juck.
a man,	mun,die.
a woman,	mee,che,da,rung.
a child,	dooĕĕ.
head,	ſee,kook.
face,	moo,kam.
noſe,	ging.
mouth,	chu,chul.
eye,	mok,roon.
ear,	ner,chil.
hair,	ke,nil.
hand,	jauck.
finger,	jauck,ſee.
back,	bick,ma.
foot,	ja,chuck.
fire,	waul.
water,	chee.
houſe,	nuck.
tree,	ber.
rice,	my,run.
cotton,	caule.
hog,	wauck.
cow,	ma,ſhu.

 wine,

wine,	pa,ta,ka.
ſalt,	ſoom.
cloth,	ba,ra
dog,	aa,chuck.
plenty,	gun,mauck.
good,	num,mah.
ſword,	dig,ree.
ſhield,	too,pee.
graſs,	cau,pun.

At the foot of the hills reſide a caſt of people called *Hajins;* their cuſtoms nearly reſemble the *Garrows:* in religious matters they partake more of the *Hindus*, as they will not kill a cow. Their habitations are built like the houſes of the ryotts in general, but are better made, incloſed with a court-yard, kept remarkably neat and clean; the railing made of bamboos ſplit, flatted, and joined together. The ſtreets of their villages equal the neatneſs of their houſes. The men are of a dark complexion, well made, and ſtout: their face nearly reſembles the *Garrow*, though rather of a milder look: their dreſs is the ſame as that of the head peaſants in *Bengal*, conſiſting of a *Dootee*, *Egpautah*, and *Pugree*, or waiſt-cloth, mantle, and turband.

The women are remarkably neat and clean: their dreſs conſiſts of one cloth, made to go near twice round the body, and to hang in folds down to the ankle, covers their breaſts, and paſſes under their arms, and the ends are tucked in as the waiſt-cloth of the natives of *Bengal:* their hair is tied on the crown; and they have ear-rings in the ſame manner as the *Garrow* women, but no neck ornament.

This

This is the ſum of the obſervations which my ſhort ſtay with the inhabitants of the *Garrow* Hills enabled me to make on their manners and cuſtoms. I have written ſeparately, an account of my journey at the foot of the hills to the different paſſes where their trade is carried on, from which ſome further information may be derived of their conduct and character: but I am conſcious that my remarks deſcribe them but imperfectly; and found my only hope of their proving acceptable, on the people to whom they relate having hitherto been wholly unnoticed: they may alſo perhaps lead to more accurate inquiries hereafter.

TO THE PRESIDENT.

Dear Sir,

I Now have the pleaſure to incloſe a copy, written with a ſtylus on five palmyra-leaves, of the engraving on copper-plates preſerved in the great Pagóda of *Conjevaram*. The language is the *Dévavánì;* and the character, *Dévanágarì*. Two perſons only at this place can read and expound them. They contain an account of the diviſion of lands, &c. in this country. Thus have I taken the liberty to trouble you with matters, which may, or may not, prove of conſequence: they who are able to judge of them muſt determine. Should any good arise from theſe communications, my merit will be only that of the ſlave who digs from a mine the rough diamond, which others, of ſuperior ſkill and capacity, cut and poliſh into its full luſtre and value.

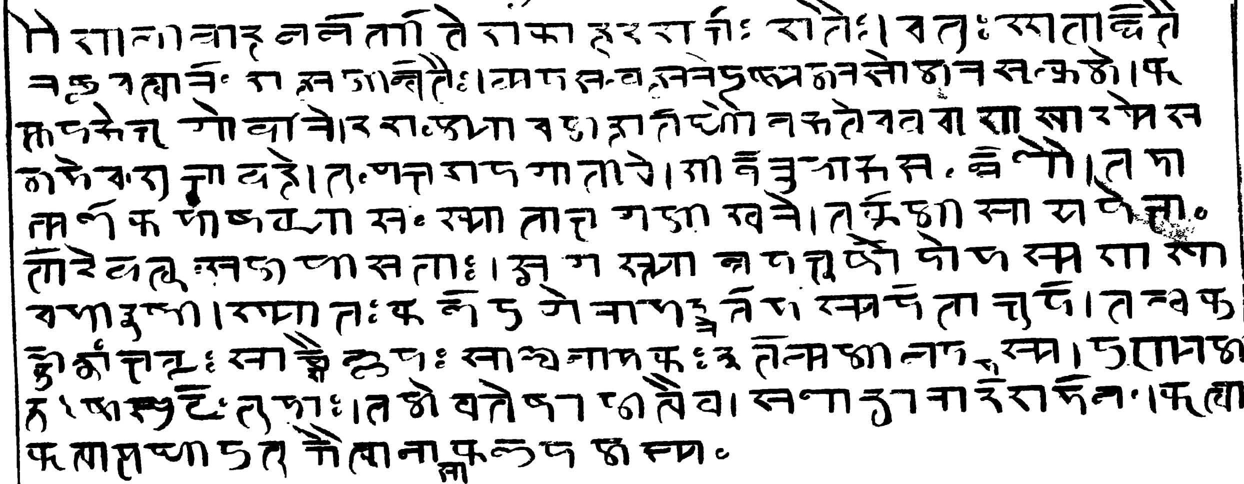
I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

Conjevaram,
April 7, 1791.

ALEXANDER MACLEOD.

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III.

A ROYAL GRANT OF LAND IN CARNATA;

COMMUNICATED BY ALEXANDER MACLEOD, Esq.

And translated from the Sanscrit by the President.

Prosperity attend you!
Adoration to GANE'SA!

STANZAS.

1. ADORED be the God SAMBHU, on whom the city of the three worlds rested in the beginning as on its main pillar, and whose lofty head is adorned with a crescent, that kisses it, resembling the point of a waving *Châmara!*

NOTE.

The comparison is taken from the image of an *Indian* Prince, fanned by an officer, who stands behind him, with the tail of a *Chamara*, or wild cow, the hairs of which are exquisitely fine, and of a pale yellow tint. SAMBHU is MAHA'DEVA.

2. May the tusk of that boar, whose form was assumed in sport by HERI, when the raised earth was his gorgeous umbrella with *Hémádri,* (or the *Golden Mountain,)* for the ornament of its top, be a staff to keep you secure!

NOTE.

VISHNU, in his *third* incarnation, is allegorically represented as a boar, the symbol of strength, supporting our globe on his tusk, which is here compared to the staff of a *Ch'hatra*, or *Indian* umbrella. The *Ch'hatras* of rich men have an ornament of gold on their summits, called a *Calasa*, to which the royal bard, who wrote the grant, compares the mountain *Suméru*, or the North Pole.

3. May the luminous body of that god, who, though formed like an elephant, was born of PA'RVA-TI,

TI', and is revered even by HERI, propitiously dispel the gloom of misfortune!

NOTE.

The bodies of the *Hindu* gods are supposed to be an *ethereal substance* resembling light; and GANE'SA, or the Divine Wisdom personified, is represented with the head of an *elephant:* his mother was the daughter of the mountain *Himálaya.* This couplet is in the style called *yamaca*, where some of the words have different meanings; but are applicable, in all of them, to the rest of the sentence: thus *Agajà*, or *mountain-born*, may signify the goddess PA'RVATI'; but it also means *not a female elephant;* and HERI, or VISHNU, may be translated a *lion*, of which elephants are the natural prey.

4. There is a luminary, which rose, like fresh butter, from the ocean of milk churned by the gods, and scattered the gloom from around it.

NOTE.

After the usual stanzas, called *mangala*, or *auspicious*, we are presented with the pedigree of the donor, beginning with the Moon, who, in the *second* incarnation of VISHNU, was produced from the sea of milk. A comparison of the moon to *butter*, must seem ridiculous to *Europeans;* but they should consider, that every thing which the *cow* produces, is held sacred by the *Hindus;* and the simile is consistent with the allegory of a *milky* ocean *churned* by the deities.

5. The offspring of that luminary was BUDHA, or the Wise, with reason so named, from his unequalled acts of devotion, and eminent virtues. The son of BUDHA was PURU'RAVAS, by the force of whose arm the lives of his foes were destroyed. His son was A'YUS: his, NAHUSHA: his, the hero YAYA'TI, famed through the world in battle: and from him, by his happy consort, DE'VAYA'NI', came TU'RVASU, equal to a god.

NOTE.

This pedigree is conformable to the *Puránas.* BUDHA was probably an old philosopher and legislator, highly revered, while he lived, and supposed, after his death, to preside over the planet MERCURY; while his father (if that be not an astronomical fable) was conceived to be regent of the Moon: he gives his name, like the WODEN of the north, to the *fourth* day of the week. The original epithet of the last king, named in this verse, is *Vasumbha*, or *equal to a Vasu;* but the jingle of syllables, which the *Indian* poet meant as a beauty, is avoided in the translation. A *Vasu* is one of the *eight* divinities, who form a *gana*, or assemblage, of gods; and there are *nine* of those *ganas.*

6. In

6. In his family was born DE'VACI'JA'NI; and in his, TIMMA, a sovereign celebrated among those of equal descent, like VRISHNI among the children of YADU.

NOTE.

If *Tulavínda* be the true reading in the second hemistich, it must be the name of a kingdom: but we must beware of geographical errors, lest the names of countries which never existed should find their way into maps. YADU was another son of YAYA'TI; and CRISHNA descended from him through VRISHNI, whence the shepherd god is named *Yádava*, and *Várshnéya*.

7. From him sprang BHUCCAMA'JA'NI, a ruler, who cherished the world; a gem on the head of kings, not spreading terror around, but gleaming with undiminished brightness.

8. He lived with delight; and DE'VACI'NANDANA, the king who gave felicity to mankind, sprang from him, like the God of Love from the son of DE'VACI'.

NOTE.

CA'MADE'VA, or the God of Love, was born in one of his incarnations as the son of CRISHNA, whose real parents were DE'VACI' and VASUDE'VA: in that birth CA'MA took the name of PRADYUMNA, and was father of ANIRUDDHA, whose adventures with USHA' are the subject of a beautiful tale, and a very interesting drama.

9. In many places, of which *Rámés'wara* was the first, renowned for various exertions of virtue, he distributed, as the law ordains, with a joyful heart, again and again, a variety of gifts around the shrines of the deities; attaining such fame on earth, that the inhabitants of the three worlds expanded it in triumphant songs.

NOTE.

Rámés'wara, near the southern extremity of the *Indian* continent, received its name and sanctity from the *seventh* incarnation of VISHNU in

in the form of RA'MA. This *ninth* couplet is written in a singular metre, with rhimes in the middle of each division:

> Vividha sucritód *dámé rámé* swara pramuc'hé muhur,
> Muditahrĭdaya *st'háné st'háné* vyadhatta yat'há vidhi
> Vibudhaperitó *náná dáná* niyah bhuvi shódása,
> Tribhuvanajanód *gitam sp'hitam* yasah punaruddhayan.

If *snáné* be the correct reading, it means a sacred bathing-place: and if *shódása* be properly written at the end of the third line, it may imply, that the royal donations were made to *sixteen* temples; or that the principal donations were *sixteen*.

10. He shone forth conspicuously, having rapidly bound the *Cávérì*, by raising a bridge over that receptacle of tumultuous waters; and having, by the strength of his arm, made JI'VAGRA'HA captive in battle, he appointed that kingdom, of which the name begins with *Sríranga*, as the feudal territory of his prisoner, but subject to his own dominions paramount: he was praised, even to the end of his career, by the three peopled worlds, who heard the whole extent of his fame.

NOTE.

JI'VAGRA'HA seems to be the proper name of a prince whose dominions lay beyond the *Cavéri:* the word means the *Seizer of Life.* Among the many epithets of the god SIVA, we find RANGA; and *Sríranga-pattan*, or a city dedicated to him, is the capital of *Mahéswar*, so called from another name of the deity. Those appellations are in some measure preserved to this day: but the ancient name of *Travancore* was *Mallára.*

11. Having conquered the regions of *Chéra*, *Chóla*, and *Pánjya*, subdued the king MADHURIVALLABHA, whose chief ornament was his loftiness of mind, taken VI'RYO'DAGRA prisoner, vanquished the king GAJAPETI, or Lord of Elephants, and other sovereigns, he became universally celebrated from the northern banks of *Gangà* to *Lancà*, (the equinoctial point,) from the verge of the first, or eastern, to that of the last, or western mountain, and placed his awful behest, like

a chaplet

a chaplet of flowers, over the heads of the mightiest potentates.

NOTE.

Two *Bráhmens*, who perused this couplet, proposed to read *Pánḍya*, of which they had before heard, instead of *Pánjyā*, which appears in the transcript. Had *Madhurá* been written instead of *Madhurí*, there could have been little doubt, that it meant one of the southern kingdoms: one of my *Pandits* thinks, that it means *Madura*.

12. From that chief of lion-like men, by two queens, TIPWA'JI' and NAGARA', as from DASARAT'HA by the divine CAUSALYA' and SUMITRA',

13. Sprang two valiant, yet modest, heroes, like the two princes RA'MA and LACSHMANA, named VIRANRISINHENDRA and CRISHNARAYA, both lords of the earth.

14. The famed VIRANRISINHA, having taken his seat in *Vijayanagar*, on a throne blazing with gems, far surpassed in glory and policy, the ancient kings NRIGA, NALA, NAHUSHA, and, consequently, all other monarchs on earth: from the southern bridge to *Suméru*, the mountain beautifully extended on this globe, and from the eastern to the farthest extremity of the western hills, he dwelled in the hearts of mankind, and governed his realms with mild sway.

NOTE.

All the kings named in the three preceding stanzas, are celebrated in the heroick poems of *India*; and *Vijayanagar*, or the *City of Conquest*, is very generally known. The epithet *avanisutanutah*, which, if it be the *fifth* case, agrees with *Sumeru*, may agree, in the *first* case, with the hero, and signify *applauded by the son of the earth*; that is, by MANGALA, or the planet MARS, who gives his name to the *third* day of the *Indian* and *Gothick* weeks. TRIVEDI SERVO'RU contends, that it means, *praised by the sons of the earth*, or *by all men born on it*.

15. He offered many presents in the Golden Court, in the temple of the three-eyed God, in the city of him whom CA'LAHASTI' owns as her lord, on the mountain *Vencata*, in *Cánchì*, on the two mountains of *Srì* and *Sóna*, in the great shrine of HERIHERA, at

Ságaraʃangama, *Sríranga*, *Cumbhacóna*, *Niverti*, and *Mahánandi*, that place of pilgrimage, by which the gloom of ſin is diſpelled.

16. At *Gócarna*, at RA'MA's Bridge, and in numberleſs places famed in this world for their virtue, the waters of the ſea were dried by the duſt ſcattered from the hoofs of his galloping ſteeds; and the earth herſelf was oppreſſed and diſturbed by the god, who graſps the thunder-bolt, and who felt pain from the obſtruction of the ocean, until multiplied force was reſtored to the world by the abundant ſtreams of his immenſe liberality.

NOTE.

The holy places, enumerated in theſe two ſtanzas, are all well known to the *Pandits*, except *Niverti*: the correctneſs of the reading may, therefore, be ſuſpected. *Hábala*, which my *Nágarí* writer pronounces to be *the name of a river*, and which one of my three *Pandits* knows to be a place of pilgrimage, appears on the palm-leaf; but *Ságara* is written above it. If two diſtinct places are intended, we find *ſixteen* in all, agreeably to the *ninth* ſtanza. The firſt meridian of the *Hindus* paſſes through the city of *Ujjayini*, of which we know the poſition; but as *Lancá*, therefore, falls to the weſt of *Silan*, which RA'MA's Bridge ſeems to mark as the kingdom of RA'VAN, the *Indians* believe that the iſland had formerly a much larger extent: and it has been aſſerted, that appearances between *Silan* and the *Maldives* in ſome degree juſtify that belief. *Maldive* is, moſt probably, a corruption of *Malayadwípa*, from the promontory of *Malaya* on the continent of *India*.

In the following verſes, which I received from a venerable aſtronomer, *Cánchi* alſo appears in the firſt meridian; and *Ujjaini* ſeems diſtinct from *Abanti*, though ſome authors inſiſt, that they are one and the ſame city.

Bhúmedhya réc'há canacádrilancá
medhyaſt'hadeſáh cila vatſagulmau,
Cánchí, ſarah ſannihitam, curúnám
cſhétram tat'há pajjanicá pyabanti,
Sitáchalaſchójjayiní che déva
canyá che róhitaca gargarátau.

"The places in the meridian line between the *Golden Mount* and *Lanca*, are *Vatſa*, *Gulma*, *Cánchí*, *Sannihitaſarah*, *Curucſhétrah*, *Pajjanicá*, *Abanti*, *Sitáchala*, *Ujjayini*, *Dévacanyá*, *Róhitaca*, *Gargarát*."

3 17. The

17. The gifts, which he ſpread around, were 1. A *Brahmánda*, or mundane egg; 2. A circle of the univerſe; 3. A vaſe repreſenting the five elements; 4. A cow formed of gems; 5. A figure of the ſeven ſeas; 6. Two ſprigs from the tree of ages; 7. A golden CA'MADHE'NU, or celeſtial cow; 8. A terreſtrial ſphere made of gold; 9. A chariot and horſes of the precious metals; 10. A man's weight of gold; 11. A thouſand images of Cows; 12. A golden horſe; 13. An image of BRAHMA'; 14. A golden car; 15. A plough of gold, complete in its five parts; 16. A car drawn by elephants of the ſame metal.

NOTE.

If all this be not a wild poetical exaggeration, and if ſuch preſents were often made by the *Hindu* Princes, the *Moghols*, who ſoon after conquered moſt of the ſouthern provinces, muſt have plundered the *Hindu* temples of immenſe treaſures.

18. He was eminently wiſe, and ruled with undiminiſhed magnificence; and when he aſcended, with the cordial acquieſcence of INDRA, to a celeſtial manſion, leaving behind him the reputation of a king, who reſembled, in his great qualities, that ruler of the firmament;

19. Then the king CRISHNARA'YA, with irreſiſtible power, bore the round earth on his arm like a bracelet of gems.

NOTE.

This Prince, the donor of the land, was probably the younger brother of VI'RANRISINHA, who died, it ſeems, without male iſſue.

20. The gods had apprehenſions, in the beginning of time, that the glory of ſo great a monarch would rapidly diffuſe one vaſt blaze over the univerſe, and leave them without marks of diſtinction: thence it was, that PURA'RI aſſumed a third eye in his forehead;

head; PEDMA'CSHA, four arms; ATMABHU', four faces; that CA'LI' held a cimeter in her hand; RA'MA, a lotos-flower; and VA'NI', a lyre.

NOTE.

The six names in the text are appellations of the gods MAHA'DE'VA, VISHNU, BRAHMA', and the goddesses DURGA', LACSHMI', SERESWATI': they signify, in order as they occur, the foe of *Pura* or *Tripura*, the Lotos-eyed, the Self-existing, Female Time, the Delightful, and Speech.

21. In the midst of his assembled foes, he darts a consuming fire kindled by his wrath. Oh! what said I? He dries up the series of seven oceans with the dust and sand of the whole earth trampled on by the cavalry of his numerous armies, and presently forms a new range of seas, blazing with his measureless glory, by the unbounded streams of those noble gifts, among which the first were a mundane egg, and a golden figure of *Meru*.

22. "May you long enjoy entire here below, the "felicity and wealth bestowed on you by me!" Thus blessing mankind, and well knowing the general obstacles to an ascent in the car of the sun towards the mansion of the gods, he distributed in all regions of the world, those obelisks which confer celebrity, and on which encomiastick verses are engraven by the Goddess of Abundance herself, that they might become the lashes of whips, to quicken the horses of the mountains.

NOTE.

The extravagant imagery in this couplet is connected with the old *Indian* custom of raising pillars to perpetuate the memory of great events, and with the belief of the *Hindus*, that the souls of good men pass *through the sun* to their seat of happiness. Although the *Columns of Victory*, as they are called, were monuments of kingly pride, or of courtly adulation, yet the poet insinuates, that the donor intended to facilitate a passage to heaven for those whom he had enriched on earth; and the mountains are animated, to become the horses of the sun's car, and to be lashed by the royal obelisks.

Other

Other columns were erected, perhaps, as *Gnomons;* and others, possibly, to represent the phallus of Iswara: but those called *Jayastambhas*, or *Pillars of Victory*, some of which remain to this day with metrical inscriptions, are most frequently mentioned by the ancient poets of *India*.

23. He proceeded continually, as the law prescribes, for the attainment of greatness and prosperity, to all terrestrial seats of the gods and places of pilgrimage, the first of which were *Cánchì*, *Srísaila*, Mount *Sóna*, *Canacasabhà*, or the Golden Court, and *Véncatádri;* where he dispensed many offerings, as a man's weight of gold, and the like, together with all the smaller oblations, which are specified in the *A'gama*.

NOTE.

The *A'gama* is a mysterious book, or set of books, part of which has been communicated to me by a *Sannyási* of *Mat'hurà:* it is so named, because it is believed to have *come* from the mouth of Siva, as the *Vedas* proceeded severally from the four mouths of Brahma'. The same word means also the *Véda*.

24. When he is enraged, he becomes a rod to punish guilty sovereigns: when he assumes the arm of Se'sha, he acts as the chief preserver of this globe: he smiles with a placid cheek, when just princes address him; but rages in battle, when he relieves oppressed nations who ask his protection.

NOTE.

Se'sha is the king of Serpents, the couch of Vishnu, and the symbol of Eternity. The measure of this rhimed couplet is dactylick, and each of its four divisions begins and ends with a similar sound; as,

Rósha critah pretipárt'hiva *danda*
Tósha cridart'hishu yò rana *chanda*.

25. Justly is he styled *Rájádhirája*, since he is the supreme ruler of rulers, offering a mild check to the princes of *Múru*, but filling other kings with terror.

NOTE.

NOTE.

The phrase *ráyataganda* occurs both in this and in the preceding stanza. *Ráya* means a king, not in *Sanscrit*, but in a popular idiom; and the whole phrase may be a title in the vulgar dialect of *Carnáta*. It is here preceded by *Múru*, which we shall find again towards the end of the grant, and which may, or may not, be the name of a country. Not one of the three *Pandits*, who were consulted on the meaning of the words *Múru* and *Raganda*, could throw any light on them; except that *Múru* is a territory, of which the derivative is *Maurava*.

26. He is a deliverer of those *Hindu* princes who act like beneficent genii, but a destroyer of those who rage like fierce tigers: thence he receives due praises, with the title *Virapratápa*, or the glory of heroes, and other splendid epithets.

NOTE.

The word *Hindu* is applied likewise in a verse of CA'LIDA's to the original inhabitants of this country; but the *Pandits* insist, that it is not *Sanscrit*. Since the first letter of it appears to be radical, it cannot be derived from *Indu*, or the moon; but, since a sibilant is often changed into an aspirate, it has been thought a variation of *Sindhu*, or *Indus*. To that etymology, however, we may object, that the last consonant also must be changed; and that *Sindhu* is the name of a *river*, not of a *people*.

27. He is revered by the kings of *Anga*, *Benga*, *Calinga*, and others, who exclaim, "Look on us, "mighty potentate! Live, and conquer!"

NOTE.

Anga was the ancient kingdom of *Carna*, including the district of *Bhágalapura*. To the east of *Gaura*, or the *Land of Sugar*, to which we give the name of *Bengal*, lies *Bengá*, properly so named. *Calinga*, a word known to the *Greeks*, is the country watered by the *Gódáveri*.

28. Exalted with praises by the wise, the king CRISHNARA'YA sits on a throne of gems in *Vijayanagar*, surpassing, in the practice of moral virtue, NRIGA, and other monarchs: from the center of the eastern to that of the western mountain, and from *Hémádri* to the southern bridge, he shines with transcendent glory, dispensing riches and felicity through the world.

29. One

29. One thousand four hundred and forty-eight years of the *Sacábda*, or era established in memory of SA'LI'VA'HANA, being elapsed;

30. In the year *Vyaya*, in the month of *Pushya*, when the sun was entering *Macara*, in the dark fortnight, on the day of BHRIGU, and on that venerable *tit'hi*, the tenth of the moon;

31. Under the constellation *Visác'há*, at a time productive of good fortune, on the banks of the river *Tungabahdrà*, near the temple of the God with three eyes;

NOTE.

The date of the grant follows the genealogy of the donor, and precedes that of the donee; after which comes a description of the land granted, and the religious tenure by which it was to be held. The *Sacábda* began in Y. C. 78, and the grant was made in Y. C. 1526, the very year in which BABUR took possession of *Delhi*; or 264 years ago: for, by the almanack of *Navadwipa*, the first of *Vaisác'h*, 1712 Y. S. answers to the 11th *April*, 1790 Y. C. The cycle of sixty is divided into sets of twenty years, each set being sacred to one of the three divine attributes; and *Vyaya* is the 20th year of the cycle, or the last in the part allotted to BRAHMA'. *Macar* is the sign of *Capricorn*; and *Pushya*, the 8th lunar mansion. BHRIGU was the father of SUCRA, who presides over the planet *Venus*, and is properly named BHA'RGAVA; but the day of BHRIGU means Friday.

32. That temple where priests, who have aimed at piety towards ISWARA as their only grandeur, and who shine only with the fame of eminent holiness, fix their heart on the godhead alone;

33. Him, who is an ornament of AGASTYA's race, and whose peculiar studies are the *Sác'hás*, or branches, of the *Yajurvéda*; whose father was distinguished on earth in this age of *Cali*, or contention, by the surname of RA'YA;

34. Born in the family of TAMVA, SRI' AILLAPA BHATTA, surnamed *Sánc'hyanáyaca*, or chief teacher of

of the *Sânchya* philosophy, (thus men openly declare his name, his race, and his virtue;)

35. Him, the king, has appointed the dispenser of nectareous food even here below, to those pious students, and, in like manner, his sons and sons' sons, to an age without end.

NOTE.

Agastya was an ancient sage, now believed to preside over the star *Canopus*.

36. The land called *Sríjayacunda* by the inhabitants of the district of *Chóla*, that named *Méyitcóta* in the principality of *Chandragiri*; that known in *Ambinári* by the name of *Malacà*.

NOTE.

The couplets, containing a description of the land, are so indistinctly written, that the grammatical construction of them can hardly be traced. The first letter of *Méyitcóta* may belong to the preceding word; and an entire hemistich seems in this place to be omitted.

It may here be remarked, that this whole grant is conformable to the rules of Ya'gyawalcya, in whose work we find the following verses:

Datwá bhúmin nibandhan và critwà léc'hyantu cárayét,
ágámibhadranripati perijnyánáya párt'hiwah;
Patéva támrapátte và swamudróperichihnitan
abhiléc'hyátmanó vansyanátmánanchemahípetih:
Pretigrahaperímánán dánach'hédópawernanan,
swahastacálasampannam sásanan carayétst'hiran.

'Let a king, having given land, or assigned revenue, cause his gift
'to be written, for the information of good princes, who will succeed
'him, either on prepared cloth, or on a plate of copper, sealed above
'with his own signet: having described his ancestors and himself, the
'dimensions or quantity of the gift, with its metes and bounds, if it
'be land, and set his own hand to it, and specified the time, let him
'render his donation firm.'

37. Land

37. Land, situated to the east of *Tirumâpêru*, *Cájômaca*, and so forth, and the two villages *Cónáru* and *Côbila*;

38. Placed to the south of *Palapúrusha* and *Hulli*, and to the west of the town called *Parundar*;

39. To the north of *Bêrupù* and *Purapácà*, including the town which has the name of *Sivabhactapura*, or that of SIVA's adorers,

40. With another propitious name, derived from the four sacred hearths (*Chaturvêdi*) of the delightful *Chôla*; together with the charming town of *Góvindapári*;

41. Where eleven *Bráhmens* are to water one *Amra* tree, and to worship the God RUDRA by day and by night, after the prescribed acts of devotion;

42. And the smaller town, called *Chattupácà*, ever abundant in grain, inhabited by men eminently learned, in the great principality of *Paravíru*;

43. A place to be honoured by all, marked on all sides by four distinct boundaries; surrounded with rivulets, formed by good genii, the pebbles of which are like gems carefully deposited:

44. Viewed with delight by the distant eye, fit to be enjoyed by deities; graced with trees exquisitely beautiful; having the advantage also of ponds, wells, and pools of water with raised banks;

45. Frequented by officiating priests and attendants, with subdued passions and benevolent hearts; by deities of different classes, and by travellers who know the *Véda*, and converse with copiousness:

 46. All

46. All the land before mentioned has the great prince CRISHNADE'VA, worthy of reverence from the wise, given with serene joy, having first diffused a stream of gold, silver, and gems.

47. Such was the decree of CRISHNARA'YA, to whom belongs the whole earth celebrated by the royal bards; that bountiful king, who is the source of all the wealth possessed by the bards of *Múru.*

48. By the command of the great *Râya* CRISHNADE'VA, the president of his council proclaimed this donation to MRIRA, or ISWARA; and his command is here engraved on plates of copper.

49. The artist *Srí* VI'RANA'CHA'RYA, the son of MALLANA, wrote on copper this grant of the great prince CRISHNADE'VA.

50. As between a gift of land, and the confirmation of it by the successors of the donor, the confirmation is more meritorious than the gift: by the gift, a king attains a seat in heaven; by the confirmation, a seat from which he can never fall.

51. The confirmation of a gift by another prince, has twice the merit of a gift by himself; but the resumption of land granted by another, makes even his own gift fruitless.

52. He who resumes land given either by himself or by another, becomes a worm in ordure, for successive births, through a period of sixty thousand years.

53. Land granted for virtuous purposes, is in this world the only sister of kings; and consequently must not be enjoyed by them, nor taken by them in marriage.

54. "This

54. " This is the univerſal bridge of virtue for " princes, and muſt be repaired by you from time to " time." Thus doth RA'MACHANDRA exhort, again and again, the ſovereigns of the earth, both thoſe who now live, and thoſe who are to reign hereafter.

SRI' VIRU'PA'CSHA!

OR,

THE GOD WITH THREE EYES!

IV.

ON THE

MUSICAL MODES OF THE HINDUS:

Written in 1784, and ſince much enlarged.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

MUSICK belongs, as a *Science*, to an intereſting part of natural philoſophy, which, by mathematical deductions from conſtant phenomena, explains the cauſes and properties of ſound, limits the number of mixed or *harmonick* ſounds to a certain ſeries, which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio which they bear to each other, or to one leading term; but, conſidered as an *Art*, it combines the ſounds which philoſophy diſtinguiſhes, in ſuch a manner, as to gratify our ears, or affect our imaginations; or, by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy, while it pleaſes the ſenſe; and, ſpeaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raiſe correſpondent ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer: it then, and then only, becomes what we call a *fine art*, allied very nearly to verſe, painting, and rhetorick; but ſubordinate in its function to pathetick poetry, and inferior in its power to genuine eloquence.

Thus it is the province of the *philoſopher* to diſcover the true direction and divergence of ſound, propagated by the ſucceſſive compreſſions and expanſions of air, as the vibrating body advances and recedes; to ſhow why ſounds themſelves may excite a tremulous motion in particular bodies, as in the known experiment of inſtruments tuned in uniſon; to demonſtrate the law by which all the particles of air, when it undulates with great quickneſs, are continually accelerated and retarded; to compare the number of pulſes in agitated air, with that of the vibrations which cauſe them; to

compute

compute the velocity and intervals of thofe pulfes in atmofpheres of different denfity and elafticity; to account, as well as he can, for the affections which mufick produces; and, generally, to inveftigate the caufes of the many wonderful appearances which it exhibits: but the *artist*, without confidering, and even without knowing, any of the fublime theorems in the philofophy of found, may attain his end by a happy felection of *melodies* and *accents* adapted to paffionate verfe, and of *times* conformable to regular metre; and, above all, by *modulation*, or the choice and variation of thofe *modes*, as they are called, of which, as they are contrived and arranged by the *Hindus*, it is my defign, and fhall be my endeavour, to give you a general notion, with all the perfpicuity that the fubject will admit.

Although we muft affign the firft rank, tranfcendently, and beyond all comparifon, to that powerful mufick, which may be denominated the fifter of Poetry and Eloquence, yet the lower art of pleafing the fenfe, by a fucceffion of agreeable founds, not only has merit, and even charms, but may, I perfuade myfelf, be applied, on a variety of occafions, to falutary purpofes. Whether, indeed, the fenfation of hearing be caufed, as many fufpect, by the vibrations of an elaftic ether flowing over the auditory nerves, and propelled along their folid capillaments, or whether the fibres of our nerves, which feem indefinitely divifible, have, like the ftrings of a lute, peculiar vibrations, proportioned to their length and degree of tenfion, we have not fufficient evidence to decide; but we are very fure that the whole nervous fyftem is affected in a fingular manner by combinations of found, and that melody alone will often relieve the mind, when it is oppreffed by intenfe application to bufinefs or ftudy. The old mufician, who rather figuratively, we may fuppofe, than with philofophical ferioufnefs, *declared the foul itfelf to be nothing but harmony*, provoked the fprightly remark of CICERO, that *he drew his philofophy from the art which he*

be professed; but if, without departing from his own art, he had merely described the human frame as the noblest and sweetest of musical instruments, endued with a natural disposition to resonance and sympathy, alternately affecting, and affected by, the soul which pervades it, his description might, perhaps, have been physically just, and certainly ought not to have been hastily ridiculed. That any medical purpose may be fully answered by musick, I dare not assert; but after food, when the operations of digestion and absorption give so much employment to the vessels, that a temporary state of mental repose must be found, especially in hot climates, essential to health, it seems reasonable to believe, that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, must have all the good effects of sleep, and none of its disadvantages; *putting the soul in tune*, as MILTON says, for any subsequent exertion; an experiment which has often been successfully made by myself, and which any one, who pleases, may easily repeat. Of what I am going to add, I cannot give equal evidence; but hardly know how to disbelieve the testimony of men, who had no system of their own to support, and could have no interest in deceiving me. First, I have been assured by a credible eye-witness, that two wild antelopes used often to come from their woods to the place where a more savage beast, SIRA'JUDDAULAH, entertained himself with concerts, and that they listened to the strains with an appearance of pleasure, till the monster, in whose soul there was no musick, shot one of them to display his archery: secondly, a learned native of this country told me, that he had frequently seen the most venomous and malignant snakes leave their holes, upon hearing tunes on a flute, which, as he supposed, gave them peculiar delight: and thirdly, an intelligent Persian, who repeated his story again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared, that he had more than once been present, when a celebrated lutanist, *Mírzá* MOHAMMED, surnamed BULBUL, was playing to a large com-

pany

pany in a grove near *Shíráz*, where he diſtinctly ſaw the nightingales trying to vie with the muſician, ſometimes warbling on the trees, ſometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wiſhed to approach the inſtrument whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropping on the ground in a kind of extaſy, from which they were ſoon raiſed, he aſſured me, by a change of the mode.

The aſtoniſhing effects aſcribed to muſick by the old *Greeks*, and, in our days, by the *Chineſe*, *Perſians*, and *Indians*, have probably been exaggerated and embelliſhed; nor, if ſuch effects had been really produced, could they be imputed, I think, to the mere influence of ſounds, however combined or modified: it may, therefore, be ſuſpected, (not that the accounts are wholly fictitious, but) that ſuch wonders were performed by muſick in its largeſt ſenſe, as it is now deſcribed by the *Hindus*, that is, by the union of *voices*, *inſtruments*, and *action*; for ſuch is the complex idea conveyed by the word *Sangíta*, the ſimple meaning of which is no more than *ſymphony*: but moſt of the *Indian* books on this art, conſiſt accordingly of three parts, *gána*, *vádya*, *nrítya*, or *ſong*, *percuſſion*, and *dancing*; the firſt of which compriſes the meaſures of poetry, the ſecond extends to inſtrumental muſick of all ſorts, and the third includes the whole compaſs of theatrical repreſentation. Now it may eaſily be conceived, that ſuch an alliance, with the potent auxiliaries of diſtinct articulation, graceful geſture, and well-adapted ſcenery, muſt have a ſtrong general effect, and may, from particular aſſociations, operate ſo forcibly on very ſenſible minds, as to excite copious tears, change the colour and countenance, heat or chill the blood, make the heart palpitate with violence, or even compel the hearer to ſtart from his ſeat with the look, ſpeech, and actions, of a man in a phrenſy. The effect muſt be yet ſtronger, if the ſubject be *religious*, as that of

of the old *Indian* dramas, both great and ſmall, (I mean both regular plays in many acts, and ſhorter dramatick pieces on *divine love,*) ſeems, in general, to have been. In this way only can we attempt to account for the indubitable effects of the *great airs,* and impaſſioned *recitative,* in the modern *Italian* dramas, where three beautiful arts, like the Graces united in a dance, are together exhibited in a ſtate of excellence which the ancient world could not have ſurpaſſed, and probably could not have equalled. An heroick opera of METASTASIO, ſet by PERGOLESI, or by ſome artiſt of his incomparable ſchool, and repreſented at *Naples,* diſplays at once the perfection of human genius, awakens all the affections, and captivates the imagination at the ſame inſtant through all the ſenſes.

When ſuch aids as a perfect theatre would afford, are not acceſſible, the power of muſick muſt in proportion be leſs; but it will ever be very conſiderable, if the words of the ſong be fine in themſelves, and not only well tranſlated into the language of melody, with a complete union of muſical and rhetorical accents, but clearly pronounced by an accompliſhed ſinger, who feels what he ſings; and fully underſtood by a hearer, who has paſſions to be moved; eſpecially if the compoſer has availed himſelf, in his *tranſlation,* (for ſuch may his compoſition very juſtly be called,) of all thoſe advantages with which Nature, ever ſedulous to promote our innocent gratifications, abundantly ſupplies him. The firſt of thoſe natural advantages is the variety of *modes,* or *manners,* in which the *ſeven* harmonick ſounds are perceived to move in ſucceſſion, as each of them takes the lead, and conſequently bears a new relation to the ſix others. Next to the phenomenon of ſeven ſounds perpetually circulating in a geometrical progreſſion, according to the length of the ſtrings, or the number of their vibrations, every ear muſt be ſenſible, that two of the ſeven intervals in the complete ſeries, or octave, whether we conſider it

it as placed in a circular form, or in a right line with the first found repeated, are much fhorter than the five other intervals: and on thefe two phenomena, the modes of the *Hindus* (who feem ignorant of our complicated harmony) are principally conftructed. The longer intervals we fhall call *tones*, and the fhorter (in compliance with cuftom) *femitones*, without mentioning their exact ratios; and it is evident, that as the *places* of the femitones admit *feven* variations relative to one fundamental found, there are as many modes which may be called *primary*; but we muft not confound them with our modern modes, which refult from the fyftem of accords now eftablifhed in *Europe:* they may rather be compared with thofe of the *Roman* Church, where fome valuable remnants of old *Grecian* mufick are preferved in the fweet, majeftick, fimple and affecting ftrains of the Plain Song. Now, fince each of the tones may be divided, we find *twelve* femitones in the whole feries; and fince each femitone may, in its turn, become the leader of a feries formed after the model of every primary mode, we have *feven* times *twelve*, or *eighty-four*, modes in all, of which *feventy-feven* may be named *fecondary*; and we fhall fee accordingly, that the *Perfians*, and the *Hindus*, (at leaft in their moft popular fyftem,) have exactly *eighty-four* modes, though diftinguifhed by different appellations, and arranged in different claffes: but fince many of them are unpleafing to the ear, others difficult in execution, and few fufficiently marked by a character of fentiment and expreffion, which the higher mufick always requires, the genius of the *Indians* has enabled them to retain the *number* of modes which nature feems to have indicated, and to give each of them a character of its own, by a happy and beautiful contrivance. Why any one feries of founds, the ratios of which are afcertained by obfervation, and expreffible by figures, fhould have a peculiar effect on the organ of hearing, and, by the auditory nerves, on the mind, will then only be known by mortals, when they fhall

know

know why each of the ſeven colours in the rainbow, where a proportion, analogous to that of muſical ſounds, moſt wonderfully prevails, has a certain ſpecifick effect on our eyes; why the ſhades of green and blue, for inſtance, are ſoft and ſoothing; while thoſe of red and yellow, diſtreſs and dazzle the ſight: but, without ſtriving to account for the phenomena, let us be ſatisfied with knowing, that ſome of the *modes* have diſtinct perceptible properties, and may be applied to the expreſſion of various mental emotions; a fact which ought well to be conſidered by thoſe performers who would reduce them all to a dull uniformity, and ſacrifice the true beauties of their art to an injudicious temperament.

The ancient *Greeks*, among whom this delightful art was long in the hands of poets and of mathematicians, who had much leſs to do with it, aſcribe almoſt all its magick to the diverſity of their *Modes*, but have left us little more than the names of them, without ſuch diſcriminations as might have enabled us to compare them with our own, and apply them to practice. Their writers addreſſed themſelves to *Greeks*, who could not but know their national muſick; and moſt of thoſe writers were profeſſed men of ſcience, who thought more of calculating ratios than of inventing melody; ſo that whenever we ſpeak of the ſoft *Eolian* mode, of the tender *Lydian*, the voluptuous *Ionick*, the manly *Dorian*, or the animating *Phrygian*, we uſe mere phraſes, I believe, without clear ideas. For all that is known concerning the muſick of *Greece*, let me refer thoſe, who have no inclination to read the dry works of the *Greeks* themſelves, to a little tract of the learned WALLIS, which he printed as an appendix to the Harmonicks of PTOLEMY; to the Dictionary of Muſick by ROSSEAU, whoſe pen, formed to elucidate all the arts, had the property of ſpreading light before it on the darkeſt ſubjects, as if he had written with phoſphorus

rus on the ſides of a cavern; and, laſtly, to the diſſertation of Dr. BURNEY, who paſſing ſlightly over all that is obſcure, explains with perſpicuity, whatever is explicable, and gives dignity to the character of a modern muſician, by uniting it with that of a ſcholar and a philoſopher.

The unexampled felicity of our nation, who diffuſe the bleſſings of a mild government over the fineſt part of *India*, would enable us to attain a perfect knowledge of the oriental muſick, which is known and practiſed in theſe *Britiſh* dominions not by mercenary performers only, but even by *Muſelmans* and *Hindus* of eminent rank and learning. A native of *Cáshán*, lately reſident at *Murſhedábád*, had a complete acquaintance with the *Perſian* theory and practice: and the beſt artiſts in *Hinduſtan* would cheerfully attend our concerts. We have an eaſy acceſs to approved *Aſiatick* treatiſes on muſical compoſition, and need not lament with CHARDIN, that he neglected to procure at *Isfahán*, the explanation of a ſmall tract on that ſubject which he carried to *Europe:* we may here examine the beſt inſtruments of *Aſia*, and may be maſters of them, if we pleaſe; or at leaſt may compare them with ours: the concurrent labours, or rather amuſements, of ſeveral in our own body, may facilitate the attainment of correct ideas on a ſubject ſo delightfully intereſting: and a free communication, from time to time, of their reſpective diſcoveries, would conduct them more ſurely and ſpeedily, as well as more agreeably, to their deſired end. Such would be the advantages of union, or, to borrow a term from the art before us, of *harmonious accord*, in all our purſuits, and, above all, in that of knowledge.

On *Perſian* muſick, which is not the ſubject of this paper, it would be improper to enlarge: the whole ſyſtem of it is explained in a celebrated collection of tracts on pure and mixed mathematicks, entitled *Durratu'ltáj*,

and compofed by a very learned man, fo generally called *Allámi Shírází*, or the *Great Philofopher* of *Shíràz*, that his proper name is almoft forgotten: but as the modern *Perfians* had accefs, I believe, to PTOLEMY's harmonicks, their mathematical writers on mufick treat it rather as a fcience than as an art, and feem, like the *Greeks*, to be more intent on fplitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to fhew their arithmetick, than on difplaying the principles of modulation as it may affect the paffions. I apply the fame obfervation to a fhort, but mafterly, tract of the famed ABU'SI'NA'; and fufpect that it is applicable to an elegant effay in *Perfian*, called *Shamfu'láſwát*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface. It will be fufficient to fubjoin on this head, that the *Perfians* diftribute their *eighty-four* modes, according to an idea of locality, into twelve *rooms*, twenty-four *receffes*, and forty-eight *angles* or *corners*. In the beautiful tale known by the title of the *Four Dervifes*, originally written in *Perfia* with great purity and elegance, we find the defcription of a concert, where four fingers, with as many different inftruments, are reprefented "*modulating* in twelve *makáms*, or *perdahs*, twenty-four "*fhóbahs*, and forty-eight *gúfhahs*, and beginning a "mirthful fong of HA'FIZ, on vernal delight, in the "*perdah* named *ráft*, or direct." All the twelve *perdahs*, with their appropriated *fhóbahs*, are enumerated by AMI'N, a writer and mufician of *Hinduftán*, who mentions an opinion of the learned, that only *feven* primary modes were in ufe before the reign of PARVI'Z, whofe mufical entertainments are magnificently defcribed by the incomparable NIZA'MI: the modes are chiefly denominated, like thofe of the *Greeks* and *Hindus*, from different regions or towns; as, among the *perdahs*, we fee *Hijáz*, *Irák*, *Isfahán*; and; among the *fhóbahs*, or fecondary modes, *Zábul*, *Nífhàpùr*, and the like. In a *Sanfcrit* book, which fhall foon be particularly

ticularly mentioned, I find the ſcale of a mode, named *Hijéja*, ſpecified in the following verſe:

Mánśagraha sa nyáſò'c'hilò hijéjaſtu ſáyàhnè.

The name of this mode is not *Indian*; and, if I am right in believing it a corruption of *Hijàz*, which could hardly be written otherwiſe in the *Nágari* letters, we muſt conclude, that it was imported from *Perſia*: we have diſcovered then a *Perſian* or *Arabian* mode with this diapaſon,

D, E, F*, G*, A, B, C*, D;

where the firſt ſemitone appears between the *fourth* and *fifth* notes, and the ſecond between the *ſeventh* and *eighth*; as in the natural ſcale *Fa*, *ſol*, *la*, *ſi*, *ut*, *re*, *mi*, *fa*: but the C*, and G*, or *ga* and *ni* of the *Indian* author, are variouſly *changed*; and probably the ſeries may be formed in a manner not very different (though certainly there is a diverſity) from our major mode of D. This melody muſt neceſſarily end with the *fifth* note from the tonick, and begin with the tonick itſelf; and it would be a groſs violation of muſical decorum in *India*, to ſing it at any time, except at the cloſe of day. Theſe rules are comprized in the verſe above cited; but the ſpecies of octave is arranged according to Mr. FOWKE's remarks on the *Víná* compared with the fixed *Swaragráma*, or gamut, of all the *Hindu* muſicians.

Let us proceed to the *Indian* ſyſtem, which is minutely explained in a great number of *Sanſcrit* books, by authors who leave arithmetick and geometry to their aſtronomers, and properly diſcourſe on muſick as an art confined to the pleaſures of imagination. The *Pandits* of this province unanimouſly prefer the *Dámódara* to any of the popular *Sangítas*; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it, and am perfectly

fectly satisfied with the *Nárayan*, which I received from *Benáres*, and in which the *Dámódar* is frequently quoted. The *Persian* book, entitled *a Present from* INDIA, was composed, under the patronage of AAZEM SHA'H, by the very diligent and ingenious MIRZA KHAN, and contains a minute account of *Hindu* literature in all, or most, of its branches: he professes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on musick, with the assistance of *Pandits*, from the *Rágárnava*, or Sea of Passions; the *Rágaderpana*, or Mirror of Modes; the *Sabhávinóda*, or Delight of Assemblies; and some other approved treatises in *Sanscrit*. The *Sangítaderpan*, which he also names among his authorities, has been translated into *Persian*; but my experience justifies me in pronouncing, that the *Moghols* have no idea of accurate *translation*, and give that name to a mixture of gloss and text, with a flimsy paraphrase of them both; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write *Sanscrit* words in *Arabick* letters; that a man, who knows the *Hindus* only from *Persian* books, does not know the *Hindus*; and that an *European*, who follows the muddy rivulets of *Muselman* writers on *India*, instead of drinking from the pure fountain of *Hindu* learning, will be in perpetual danger of misleading himself and others. From the just severity of this censure, I except neither ABU'LFAZL, nor his brother FAIZI', nor MOHSANI FA'NI', nor MIRZA KHAN himself; and I speak of all four after an attentive perusal of their works. A tract on musick in the idiom of *Mat'hurà*, with several essays in pure *Hindustánì*, lately passed through my hands; and I possess a dissertation on the same art in the soft dialect of *Panjáb*, or *Panchanada*, where the national melody has, I am told, a peculiar and striking character; but I am very little acquainted with those dialects, and persuade myself, that nothing has been written in them, which may not be found more copiously and beautifully expressed in the *language*, as the *Hindus* perpetually call it, *of the Gods*; that is of their ancient bards, philosophers, and legislators.

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The moſt valuable work, that I have ſeen, and perhaps the moſt valuable that exiſts, on the ſubject of *Indian* muſick, is named *Rágavibódha*, or, *The Doctrine of Muſical Modes;* and it ought here to be mentioned very particularly, becauſe none of the *Pandits*, in our provinces, nor any of thoſe from *Cáſi*, or *Caſhmír*, to whom I have ſhown it, appear to have known that it was extant; and it may be conſidered as a treaſure in the hiſtory of the art, which the zeal of Colonel Polier has brought into light, and perhaps has preſerved from deſtruction. He had purchaſed, among other curioſities, a volume containing a number of ſeparate eſſays on muſick, in proſe and verſe, and in a great variety of idioms: beſides tracts in *Arabick*, *Hindi*, and *Perſian*, it included a ſhort eſſay in *Latin*, by Alstedius, with an interlineary *Perſian* tranſlation, in which the paſſages quoted from Lucretius and Virgil made a ſingular appearance: but the brighteſt gem in the ſtring was the *Rágavibódha*, which the Colonel permitted my *Nágari* writer to tranſcribe, and the tranſcript was diligently collated with the original by my *Pandit* and myſelf. It ſeems a very ancient compoſition, but is leſs old unqueſtionably than the *Ratnacára* by Sa'rnga De'va, which is more than once mentioned in it, and a copy of which Mr. Burrow procured in his journey to *Heridwar:* the name of the author was So'ma, and he appears to have been a practical muſician, as well as a great ſcholar, and an elegant poet; for the whole book, without excepting the ſtrains noted in letters, which fill the fifth and laſt chapter of it, conſiſts of maſterly couplets in the melodious metre called *Aryà:* the *firſt*, *third* and *fourth* chapters explain the doctrine of muſical ſounds, their diviſion and ſucceſſion, the variations of ſcales by temperament, and the enumeration of modes on a ſyſtem totally different from thoſe which will preſently be mentioned; and the *ſecond* chapter contains a minute deſcription of different *Vínás*, with rules for playing on them. This

book

book alone would enable me, were I maſter of my time, to compoſe a treatiſe on the muſick of *India*, with aſſiſtance, in the practical part, from an *European* profeſſor, and a native player on the *Vínà*; but I have leiſure only to preſent you with an eſſay; and even that, I am conſcious, muſt be very ſuperficial: it may be ſometimes, but, I truſt, not often, erroneous; and I have ſpared no pains to ſecure myſelf from error.

In the literature of the *Hindus*, all nature is animated and perſonified; every fine art is declared to have been revealed from heaven; and all knowledge, divine and human, is traced to its ſource in the *Védas*; among which the *Sámavéda* was intended to be *ſung*, whence the reader or ſinger of it is called *Udgátri*, or *Sámaga*: in Colonel POLIER's copy of it, the ſtrains are noted in figures, which it may not be impoſſible to decypher. On account of this diſtinction, ſay the *Bráhmens*, the *Supreme Preſerving Power*, in the form of CRISHNA, having enumerated in the *Gítà*, various orders of beings, to the chief of which he compares himſelf, pronounces, that, "*among the* Védas, *he was* "*the* Sáman." From that *Véda* was accordingly derived the *Upavéda* of the *Gandharbas*, or muſicians in INDRA's heaven; ſo that the divine art was communicated to our ſpecies by BRAHMA' himſelf, or by his *active power* SERESWATI', the Goddeſs of Speech: and their mythological ſon NA'RED, who was, in truth, an ancient lawgiver and aſtronomer, invented the *Vínà*, called alſo *Cach'hapì*, or *Teſtudo*: a very remarkable fact, which may be added to the other proofs of a reſemblance between that *Indian* God and the MERCURY of the *Latians*. Among inſpired mortals, the firſt muſician is believed to have been the ſage BHERAT, who was the inventor, they ſay, of *Nátacs*, or dramas, repreſented with ſongs and dances, and author of a muſical ſyſtem which bears his name. If we can rely on

MIRZA KHA'N, there are four principal *Matas*, or fyftems, the firft of which is afcribed to ISWARA, or OSIRIS; the fecond to BHERAT; the third to HANUMA'N, or PA'VAN, the PAN of *India*, fuppofed to be the fon of PAVANA, the regent of air; and the fourth to CALLINA'T'H, a *Rĭfhi*, or *Indian* philofopher, eminently fkilled in mufick, theoretical and practical: all four are mentioned by SO'MA; and it is the *third* of them, which muft be very ancient, and feems to have been extremely popular, that I propofe to explain after a few introductory remarks; but I may here obferve with SO'MA, who exhibits a fyftem of his own, and with the author of the *Náráyan*, who mentions a great many others, that almoft every kingdom and province had a peculiar ftyle of melody, and very different names for the modes, as well as a different arrangement and enumeration of them.

The two phenomena which have already been ftated as the foundation of mufical modes, could not long have efcaped the attention of the *Hindus*; and their flexible language readily fupplied them with names for the feven *Swaras*, or founds, which they difpofe in the following order; *fhádja*, pronounced *fharja*, *rĭfhabha*, *gándhara*, *madhyama*, *panchama*, *dhaivata*, *nifháda*: but the firft of them is emphatically named *fwara*, or the *found*, from the important office which it bears in the fcale; and hence, by taking the feven *initial letters*, or fyllables, of thofe words, they contrived a notation for their airs, and at the fame time exhibited a gamut, at leaft as convenient as that of GUIDO: they call it *fwaragráma*, or *feptaca*, and exprefs it in this form:

Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni;

three of which fyllables are, by a fingular concurrence, exactly the fame, though not all in the fame places, with

with three of thoſe invented by DAVID MOSTARE, as a ſubſtitute for the troubleſome gamut uſed in his time, and which he arranges thus:

Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni.

As to the notation of melody, ſince every *Indian* conſonant includes, by its nature, the ſhort vowel *a*, five of the ſounds are denoted by ſingle conſonants, and the two others have different ſhort vowels taken from their full names: by ſubſtituting long vowels, the *time* of each note is doubled, and other marks are uſed for a farther elongation of them: the octaves above and below the mean ſcale, the connection and acceleration of notes, the graces of execution, or manners of fingering the inſtrument, are expreſſed very clearly by ſmall circles and ellipſes, by little chains, by curves, by ſtraight lines, horizontal or perpendicular, and by creſcents, all in various poſitions: the cloſe of a ſtrain is diſtinguiſhed by a lotos-flower; but the time and meaſure are determined by the proſody of the verſe, and by the comparative length of each ſyllable, with which every note, or aſſemblage of notes, reſpectively correſponds. If I underſtand the native muſicians, they have not only the *chromatick*, but even the ſecond, or new, *enharmonick*, genus; for they unanimouſly reckon twenty-two *śrutis*, or quarters and thirds of a tone, in their octave: they do not pretend that thoſe minute intervals are mathematically equal, but conſider them as equal in practice, and allot them to the ſeveral notes in the following order: to *ſa*, *ma*, and *pa*, four; to *ri* and *dha*, three; to *ga* and *ni*, two; giving very ſmooth and ſignificant names to each *śruti*. Their original ſcale, therefore, ſtands thus:

Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, ſa.

4ś 3ś 2ś 4ś 4ś 3ś 2ś

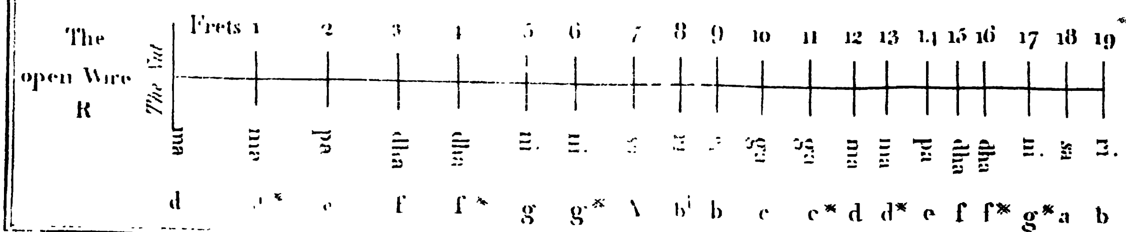
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The ſemitones, accordingly, are placed as in our diatonick ſcale: the intervals between the fourth and fifth, and between the firſt and ſecond, are major tones; but that between the fifth and ſixth, which is minor in our ſcale, appears to be major in theirs; and the two ſcales are made to coincide by taking a *śruti* from *pa*, and adding it to *dha*; or, in the language of *Indian* artiſts, by raiſing *Servaretnà* to the claſs of *Sántá* and her ſiſters; for every *śruti* they conſider as a little nymph; and the nymphs of *Panchama*, or the *fifth* note, are *Málinì*, *Chapalá*, *Lólá*, and *Servaretnà*; while *Sántá* and her two ſiſters regularly belong to *Dhaivata*: ſuch at leaſt is the ſyſtem of Co'hala, one of the ancient bards, who has left a treatiſe on muſick.

So'ma ſeems to admit, that a quarter or third of a tone cannot be ſeparately and diſtinctly heard from the *Víná*; but he takes for granted, that its effect is very perceptible in their arrangement of modes; and their ſixth, I imagine, is almoſt univerſally diminiſhed by one *śruti*; for he only mentions two modes, in which all the ſeven notes are *unaltered*. I tried in vain to diſcover any difference in practice between the *Indian* ſcale and that of our own; but, knowing my ear to be very inſufficiently exerciſed, I requeſted a *German* profeſſor of muſick to accompany with his violin a *Hindu* lutaniſt, who ſung *by note* ſome popular airs on the loves of Crishna and Ra'dha': he aſſured me, that the ſcales were the ſame: and Mr. Shore afterwards informed me, that, when the voice of a native ſinger was in tune with his harpſichord, he found the *Hindu* ſeries of ſeven notes to aſcend, like ours, by a ſharp third.

For the conſtruction and character of the *Víná*, I muſt refer you to the very accurate and valuable paper of Mr. Fowke in the Firſt Volume of your Tranſactions; and I now exhibit a ſcale of its finger-board, which

Scale of the Fingerboard of the VINA, reduced [illegible] the whole being 21 inches & [illegible] in length, from the Nut to the highest Fret.



which I received from him with the drawing of the inſtrument, and on the correctneſs of which you may confidently depend: the regular *Indian* gamut anſwers, I believe pretty nearly, to our major mode;

Ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la, ſi, ut:

and when the ſame ſyllables are applied to the notes which compoſe our minor mode, they are diſtinguiſhed by epithets expreſſing the change which they ſuffer. It may be neceſſary to add, before we come to the *Rágas*, or modes of the *Hindus*, that the twenty-one *múrch'hanas*, which Mr. Shore's native muſician confounded with the two-and-twenty *ſrutis*, appear to be no more than *ſeven* ſpecies of diapaſon multiplied by *three*, according to the difference of pitch in the compaſs of three octaves.

Rága, which I tranſlate a *mode*, properly ſignifies a *paſſion* or *affection* of the mind; each mode being intended, according to Bherat's definition of it, to move one or another of our ſimple or mixed affections; and we learn accordingly, from the *Náráyan*, that, in the days of Crishna, there were *ſixteen thouſand* modes, each of the *Gópìs* at *Mat'hurà* chuſing to ſing in one of them, in order to captivate the heart of their paſtoral god. The very learned So'ma, who mixes no mythology with his accurate ſyſtem of *Rágas*, enumerates *nine hundred and ſixty* poſſible variations by the means of temperament; but ſelects from them, as applicable to practice, only *twenty-three* primary modes, from which he deduces many others: though he allows that, by a diverſity of ornament, and by various contrivances, the *Rágas* might, like the waves of the ſea, be multiplied to an infinite number. We have already obſerved, that *eighty-four modes*, or *manners*, might naturally be formed, by giving the lead to each of our *twelve ſounds*, and varying, in *ſeven* different

 ways,

ways, the poſition of the ſemitones; but, ſince many of thoſe modes would be inſufferable in practice, and ſome would have no character ſufficiently marked, the *Indians* appear to have retained with predilection, the number indicated by nature, and to have enforced their ſyſtem by two powerful aids, the *aſſociation of ideas*, and the *mutilation of the regular ſcales.*

Whether it had occurred to the *Hindu* muſicians, that the velocity or ſlowneſs of ſounds muſt depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condenſation of the air, ſo that their motion muſt be quicker in ſummer than in ſpring or autumn, and much quicker than in winter, I cannot aſſure myſelf; but am perſuaded, that their primary modes, in the ſyſtem aſcribed to PA'VANA, were firſt arranged according to the number of *Indian* ſeaſons.

The year is diſtributed by the *Hindus* into ſix *rĭtus*, or ſeaſons, each conſiſting of two months; and the firſt ſeaſon, according to the *Amarooſha*, began with *Márgas'irsha*, near the time of the winter ſolſtice, to which month accordingly we ſee CRISHNA compared in the *Gítá*; but the old lunar year began, I believe, with *A'ſwina*, or near the autumnal equinox, when the moon was at the full in the firſt manſion: hence the muſical ſeaſon, which takes the lead, includes the months of *A'ſwin* and *Cártic*, and bears the name of *Sarad*, correſponding with part of our autumn: the next in order are *Hémanta* and *Sis'ira*, derived from words which ſignify *froſt* and *dew*: then come *Vaſanta*, or ſpring, called alſo *Surabhi*, or fragrant, and *Puſhpa-ſamaya*, or the flower time; *Gríſhma*, or heat; and *Verſhà*, or the ſeaſon of rain. By appropriating a different mode to each of the different ſeaſons, the artiſts of *India* connected certain ſtrains with certain ideas, and were able to recal the memory of autumnal merriment at the cloſe of the harveſt, or of ſeparation

and melancholy (very different from our ideas at *Calcutta*) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the appearance of bloſſoms; and complete vernal delight in the month of *Madhu*, or *honey*; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreſhment by the firſt rains, which cauſe in this climate a ſecond ſpring. Yet farther: ſince the lunar year, by which feſtivals and ſuperſtitious duties are conſtantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the ſolar year, to which the ſeaſons are neceſſarily referred, *devotion* comes alſo to the aid of muſick, and all the *powers of nature*, which are allegorically worſhipped as gods and goddeſſes on their ſeveral holidays, contribute to the influence of ſong on minds naturally ſuſceptible of religious emotions. Hence it was, I imagine, that PA'VAN, or the inventor of his muſical ſyſtem, reduced the number of original modes from *ſeven* to *ſix*; but even this was not enough for his purpoſe; and he had recourſe to the *five* principal diviſions of the day, which are the *morning*, *noon*, and *evening*, called *triſandhya*, with two intervals between them, or the *forenoon* and *afternoon*: by adding *two* diviſions, or intervals, of the night, and by leaving one ſpecies of melody without any ſuch reſtriction, SO'MA reckons *eight* variations in reſpect of time; and the ſyſtem of PA'VAN retains that number alſo in the ſecond order of derivative modes. Every branch of knowledge in this country has been embelliſhed by poetical fables; and the inventive talents of the *Greeks* never ſuggeſted a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the ſix *Rágas*, named, in the order of ſeaſons above exhibited, BHAIRAVA, MA'LAVA, SRI'RA'GA, HINDO'LA or VASANTA, DI'PACA, and ME'GHA; each of whom is a Genius, or Demigod, wedded to five *Ráginis*, or Nymphs, and father of *eight* little Genii, called his *Putras*, or Sons. The fancy of SHAKESPEAR, and the pencil of ALBANO, might have been finely employed in giving ſpeech and form to this aſſemblage of new aërial beings, who people the fairy-

land

land of *Indian* imagination; nor have the *Hindu* poets and painters loſt the advantages with which ſo beautiful a ſubject preſented them. A whole chapter of the *Náráyan* contains deſcriptions of the *Rágas* and their conſorts, extracted chiefly from the *Dámódar*, the *Caláncura*, the *Retnamálà*, the *Chandricà*, and a metrical tract on muſick aſcribed to the God NA'RED himſelf, from which, as among ſo many beauties, a particular ſelection would be very perplexing, I preſent you with the firſt that occurs, and have no doubt that you will think the *Sanſcrit* language equal to *Italian* in ſoftneſs and elegance:

> Lílá viháréna vanántarálé,
> Chinvan praſúnáni vadhú ſaháyah,
> Viláſi véſódita divya múrtih
> *Sríràga* éſha prat'hitah prit'hivyàm.

"The demigod SRI'RA'GA, famed over all this earth, "ſweetly ſports with his nymphs, gathering freſh bloſ-"ſoms in the boſom of yon grove; and his divine li-"neaments are diſtinguiſhed through his graceful veſ-"ture."

Theſe and ſimilar images, but wonderfully diverſified, are expreſſed in a variety of meaſures, and repreſented by delicate pencils in the *Rágamálàs*, which all of us have examined, and among which the moſt beautiful are in the poſſeſſion of Mr. R. JOHNSON and Mr. HAY. A noble work might be compoſed by any muſician and ſcholar, who enjoyed leiſure, and diſregarded expenſe, if he would exhibit a perfect ſyſtem of *Indian* muſick from *Sanſcrit* authorities, with the old melodies of SO'MA applied to the ſongs of JAYADE'VA, embelliſhed with deſcriptions of all the modes accurately tranſlated, and with Mr. HAY's *Rágamálà*, delineated and engraved by the ſcholars of CIPRIANI and BARTOLOZZI.

Let

Let us proceed to the second artifice of the *Hindu* musicians, in giving their modes a distinct character, and a very agreeable diversity of expression. A curious passage from PLUTARCH'S Treatise on Musick is translated and explained by Dr. BURNEY, and stands as the text of the most interesting chapter in his dissertation: since I cannot procure the original, I exhibit a paraphrase of his translation, on the correctness of which I can rely: but I have avoided, as much as possible, the technical words of the *Greeks*, which it might be necessary to explain at some length. "We "are informed, (says PLUTARCH,) by ARISTOXENUS, "that musicians ascribe to OLYMPUS of *Mysia*, the "invention of *enharmonick* melody, and conjecture, "that, when he was playing diatonically on his flute, "and frequently passed from the highest of four sounds "to the lowest but one, or conversely, skipping over "the second in descent, or the third in ascent, of that "series, he perceived a singular beauty of expression, "which induced him to dispose the whole series "of seven or eight sounds by similar skips, and "to frame by the same analogy his *Dorian* mode, "omitting every sound *peculiar* to the diatonick "and chromatick melodies then in use, but with-"out adding any that have since been made essen-"tial to the *new* enharmonick: in this genus, they "say, he composed the Nome, or strain, called *Spon-"dean*, because it was used in temples at the time of "religious *libations*. Those, it seems, were the *first* "enharmonick melodies; and are still retained by "some, who play on the flute in the antique style, "without any division of a semitone; for it was after "the age of OLYMPUS, that the quarter of a tone was "admitted into the *Lydian* and *Phrygian* modes; and "it was he, therefore, who, by introducing an exqui-"site melody before unknown in *Greece*, became the "author and parent of the most beautiful and affect-"ing musick."

This

This method then of adding to the character and effect of a mode by diminiſhing the number of its primitive ſounds, was introduced by a *Greek* of the Lower *Aſia*, who flouriſhed, according to the learned and accurate writer of the travels of ANACHARSIS, about the middle of the *thirteenth* century before CHRIST; but it muſt have been older ſtill among the *Hindus*, if the ſyſtem, to which I now return, was actually invented in the age of RA'MA.

Since it appears from the *Náráyan*, that *thirty-ſix* modes are in general uſe, and the reſt very rarely applied to practice, I ſhall exhibit only the ſcales of the ſix *Rágas* and thirty *Ráginis*, according to SO'MA, the authors quoted in the *Náráyan*, and the books explained by *Pandits* to MIRZA KHAN; on whoſe credit I muſt rely for that of *Cacubhá*, which I cannot find in my *Sanſcrit* treatiſes on muſick: had I depended on him for information of greater conſequence, he would have led me into a very ſerious miſtake; for he aſſerts, what I now find erroneous, that the *graha* is the firſt note of every mode, with which every ſong, that is compoſed in it, muſt invariably begin *and end*. Three diſtinguiſhed ſounds in each mode are called *graha*, *nyáſa*, *anśa*; and the writer of the *Náráyan* defines them in the two following couplets:

Graha ſwarah ſa ityuctó yó gítádau ſamarpitah,
Nyáſa ſwaraſtu ſa próctó yó gitádi ſamápticah:
Yó vyactivyanjacò gánè, yaſya ſcrvé' nugáminah,
Yaſya ſervatra báhulyam vády *anſó* pi nripótamah.

"The note, called *graha*, is placed at the beginning,
"and that named *nyáſa*, at the end, of a ſong: that
"note which diſplays the peculiar melody, and to
"which all the others are ſubordinate, that which is
"always of the grateſt uſe, is like a ſovereign, though
"a mere *anśa*, or portion.'

"By

"By the word *vádi*, (says the commentator,) he means "'the note which announces and ascertains the *Rága*, "and which may be considered as the parent and "origin of the *graha*, and *nyása*:" this clearly shows, I think, that the *anśa* must be the tonick: and we shall find that the two other notes are generally its third and fifth, or the mediant and the dominant. In the poem entitled *Mágha* there is a musical simile, which may illustrate and confirm our idea:

Analpatwát pradhánatwád anśasyévétaraswaráh,
Vijigíshórnripatayah prayánti pericháratám.

"From the greatness, from the transcendent qualities, "of that Hero eager for conquest, other kings march "in subordination to him, as other notes are subordi- "nate to the *anśa*."

If the *anśa* be the tonick, or modal note, of the *Hindus*, we may confidently exhibit the scales of the *Indian* modes according to Sóma, denoting by an asterisk the omission of a note:

Bhairava:	dha,	*ni*,	sa,	ri,	*ga*,	ma,	pa.
Varáti:	sa,	ri,	*ga*,	*ma*,	pa,	dha,	*ni*.
Medhyamádi:	ma,	pa,	*,	*ni*,	sa,	*,	*ga*.
Bhairavì:	sa,	*ri*,	*ga*,	ma,	*pa*,	*dha*,	*ni*.
Saindhavì:	sa,	*ri*,	*,	ma,	pa,	*dha*,	*.
Bengálì:	*sa*,	ri,	*ga*,	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni*.

Ma'lava:	*ni*,	sa,	ri,	*ga*,	ma,	pa,	dha.
Tódì:	*ga*,	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni*,	sa,	ri.
Gaudi:	*ni*,	sa,	ri,	*,	ma,	pa,	*.
Góndácrì:	sa,	ri,	*ga*,	ma,	pa,	*,	*ni*.
Sust'hávatì:	not in Sóma.						

Cacubhà: not in Sóma.

Srira'ga:

SRIRA'GA:	_ni_,	ſa,	_ri_,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	_dha_.
Málavaśri:	ſa,	*,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	*,	_ni_.
Máravì:	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	*,	_ni_,	ſa,	*.
Dhanyáſì:	ſa,	*,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	*,	_ni_.
Vaſantì:	ſa,	ri,	_ga_,	ma,	*,	dha,	_ni_.
Aſaveri:	ma,	pa,	dha,	_ni_,	ſa,	ri,	_ga_.

HINDO'LA:	ma,	*,	dha,	_ni_,	ſa,	*,	_ga_.
Rámacrì:	ſa,	ri,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	dha,	_ni_.
Déśácſhì:	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	_dha_,	*,	ſa,	_ri_.
Lelità:	ſa,	ri,	_ga_,	ma,	*,	dha,	_ni_,
Véláválì:	_dha_,	_ni_,	ſa,	*,	_ga_,	ma,	*.
Patamanjarì:	not in SÓMA.						

DÍPACA: not in SÓMA.

Déśi:	ri,	*,	_ma_,	pa,	dha,	_ni_,	ſa,
Cámbódì:	ſa,	_ri_,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	_dha_,	*.
Nettà:	ſa,	_ri_,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	_dha_,	_ni_.
Cédárì:	_ni_,	ſa,	_ri_,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	dha.
Carnátì:	_ni_,	ſa,	*,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	*.

ME'CHA: not in SÓMA.

Taccà:	ſa,	ri,	_ga_,	ma,	pa,	dha,	_ni_,
Mellárì:	_dha_,	*,	ſa,	_ri_,	*,	ma,	pa,
Gurjarì:	ri,	_ga_,	ma,	*,	dha,	_ni_,	ſa.
Bhùpalì:	_ga_,	*,	pa,	_dha_,	*,	ſa,	_ri_,
Déſacrì:	_ſa_,	ri,	ga,	_ma_,	_pa_,	dha,	_ni_.

It is impoſſible that I ſhould have erred much, if at all, in the preceding table, becauſe the regularity of the _Sanſcrit_ metre has in general enabled me to correct the manuſcript; but I have ſome doubt as to _Véláválì_, of which _pa_ is declared to be the _anśa_, or tonick,

tonick; though it is ſaid in the ſame line, that both *pa* and *ri* may be omitted: I, therefore, have ſuppoſed *dha* to be the true reading, both MIRZA KHAN and the *Nárâyan* exhibiting that note as the leader of the mode. The notes printed in *Italick* letters are variouſly *changed* by temperament, or by ſhakes, and other graces; but, even if I were able to give you in words a diſtinct notion of thoſe changes, the account of each mode would be inſufferably tedious, and ſcarce intelligible, without the aſſiſtance of a maſterly performer on the *Indian* lyre. According to the beſt authorities adduced in the *Nárâyan*, the thirty-ſix modes are, in ſome provinces, arranged in theſe forms;

BHAIRAVA:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	*ga*,	*ma,	pa.
Varátì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*pa*,	dha,	ni.
Medhyamádi:	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.
Bhairavì:	*ſa*,	*,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha,	ni.
Saindhavì:	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma.
Bengálì:	ſa,	ri,	*ga*,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.

MA'LAVA:	ma,	*,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Tódì:	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Gaúdì:	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha.
Góndacrì:	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*,	ni.
Suſt'hávati:	dha,	*ni*,	*ſa*,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.
Cacubhà:		not in the *Nárâyan*.					

SRÍRA'GA:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*pa*,	dha,	ni.
Málavaſrì:	ſa,	*ri*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*dha*,	ni.
Máravì:	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Dhanyáſì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	*ma*,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Vaſantì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
A'ſáverì:	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa.

HINDÓLA;

HINDÓLA:	ſa, *, ga, ma, *, dha, ni.
Rámacrì:	*ſa*, *ri*, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Déſácſhì:	ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, ſa, *.
Lelità:	*ſa*, *, ga, ma, pa, *, *ni*.
Vélávalì:	dha, ni, *ſa*, ri, ga, ma, pa.
Patamanjarì:	pa, *dha*, ni, ſa, *ri*, *ga*, ma.

DÍPACA: omitted.

Désì:	ni, ſa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.
Cámbódì:	ſa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, *ni*.
Nettà:	ſa, *ri*, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni.
Cédárì:	omitted.
Carnáti:	ni, ſa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha.

ME'GHA:	dha, ni, ſa, ri, ga, ma, pa.
Taccà:	(a mixed mode.)
Mellári:	dha, ni, *, ri, ga, ma, *.
Gúrjarì:	omitted in the *Náráyan*.
Bhúpalì:	ſa, ri, ga, *, pa, dha. *.
Díſacrì:	ni, ſa, *, ga, ma, pa, *.

Among the ſcales juſt enumerated, we may ſafely fix on that of SRI'RA'GA for our own major mode, ſince its form and character are thus deſcribed in a *Sanſcrit* couplet:

Játinyáſagrahagrámánśéshu ſhádjò' *lpapanchamah*,
Sringáravirayórjñéyah *Srîrâgò* gitacóvidaih.

"Muſicians know *Sríràga* to have *ſa* for its princi-"pal note, and the firſt of its ſcale, with *pa* diminiſhed, "and to be uſed for expreſſing heroick love and va-"lour." Now the diminution of *pa* by one *ſruti* gives us the modern *European* ſcale.

ut,

ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la, ſi, ut;

with a minor tone, or, as the *Indians* would expreſs it, with three *śrutis*, between the fifth and ſixth notes.

On the formulas exhibited by MIRZA KHAN I have leſs reliance; but, ſince he profeſſes to give them from *Sanſcrit* authorities, it ſeemed proper to tranſcribe them:

BHAIRAVA:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	*.
Varáti:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Medhyamádi:	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Bhairavì.	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Saindhavì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Bengálì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.

MA'LAVA:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Tódì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Gaúdì:	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha,	ni.
Góndácrì:	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*.
Suſt'hávati:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.
Cacubhà:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.

SRÍRA'GA:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Málavaſrì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Máravì:	ſa,	*,	pa,	ga,	ma,	dha,	ni.
Dhanyáſì:	ſa,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ri,	ga, —	*,
Vaſantì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
A'ſáverì:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*,	*,	ma,	pa.

HINDO'LA:	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*,	ni.
Rámacrì:	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*,	ni.
Dêśácſhì:	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*.
Lelità:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	*.
Vêlávalì:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
Patamanjarì:	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma.

DÍPACA:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Dêśì:	ri,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha,	ni,	ſa.
Cámbódì:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
Nettà:	ſa,	ni,	dha,	pa,	ma,	ga,	ri.
Cédárì:	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*.
Carnátì:	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.

ME'GHA:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	*,	*.
Taccà:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Mellárì:	dha,	ni,	*,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.
Gurjarì:	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa.
Bhúpálì:	ſa,	ga,	ma,	dha,	ni,	pa,	ri.
Déſacrì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.

It may reaſonably be ſuſpected, that the *Mogbol* writer could not have ſhown the diſtinction, which muſt neceſſarily have been made, between the different modes, to which he aſſigns the ſame formula; and, as to his inverſions of the notes in ſome of the *Rági-nis*, I can only ſay, that no ſuch changes appear in the *Sanſcrit* books which I have inſpected. I leave our ſcholars and muſicians to find, among the ſcales here exhibited, the *Dorian* mode of OLYMPUS; but it cannot eſcape notice, that the *Chineſe* ſcale, C, D, E, *, G, A, *, correſponds very nearly with *ga, ma, pa,* *, *ni, ſa,* *, or the *Máravì* of SO'MA We have long known in *Bengal*, from the information of a *Scotch* gentleman ſkilled

ſkilled in muſick, that the wild but charming melodies of the ancient Highlanders were formed by a ſimilar mutilation of the natural ſcale. By ſuch mutilations, and by various alterations of the notes in tuning the *Víná*, the number of modes might be augmented indefinitely; and CALLINA'T'HA admits *ninety* into his ſyſtem, allowing *ſix* nymphs, inſtead of *five*, to each of his muſical deities; for *Dípaca*, which is generally conſidered as a loſt mode, (though MIRZA KHAN exhibits the notes of it,) he ſubſtitutes *Panchama*: for *Hindóla*, he gives us *Vaſanta*, or the Spring; and for *Málava*, *Natanáráyan*, or CHRISHNA the Dancer; all with ſcales rather different from thoſe of PA'VAN. The ſyſtem of ISWARA, which may have had ſome affinity with the old *Egyptian* muſick invented or improved by OSIRIS, nearly reſembles that of HANUMAT; but the names and ſcales are a little varied: in all the ſyſtems, the names of the modes are ſignificant, and ſome of them as fanciful as thoſe of the fairies in the Midſummer Night's Dream. Forty-eight new modes were added by BHERAT, who *marries* a nymph, thence called *Bháryà*, to each *Putra*, or Son, of a *Rága*; thus admitting, in his muſical ſchool, an *hundred and thirty-two manners* of arranging the ſeries of notes.

Had the *Indian* empire continued in full energy for the laſt two thouſand years, religion would, no doubt, have given permanence to ſyſtems of muſick invented, as the *Hindus* believe, by their Gods, and adapted to myſtical poetry: but ſuch have been the revolutions of their government ſince the time of ALEXANDER, that although the *Sanſcrit* books have preſerved the theory of their muſical compoſition, the practice of it ſeems almoſt wholly loſt (as all the *Pandits* and *Rájas* confeſs) in *Gaur* and *Magarha*, or the provinces of *Bengal* and *Behar*. When I firſt read the ſongs of JAYADE'VA, who has prefixed to each of them the name of the mode in which it was anciently

ſung, I had hopes of procuring the original muſick; but the *Pandits* of the ſouth referred me to thoſe of the weſt, and the *Bráhmens* of the weſt would have ſent me to thoſe of the north; while they (I mean thoſe of *Népàl* and *Caſhmír*) declared that they had no ancient muſick, but imagined that the notes to the *Gitagóvinda* muſt exiſt, if any where, in one of the ſouthern provinces, where the poet was born: from all this I collect, that the art, which flouriſhed in *India* many centuries ago, has faded for want of due culture, though ſome ſcanty remnants of it may, perhaps, be preſerved in the paſtoral roundelays of *Mat'hurà* on the loves and ſports of the *Indian* APOLLO. We muſt not, therefore, be ſurpriſed, if modern performers on the *Vínà* have little or no *modulation*, or *change of mode*, to which paſſionate muſick owes nearly all its enchantment; but that the old muſicians of *India*, having fixed on a leading mode to expreſs the *general* character of the ſong, which they were *tranſlating into the muſical language*, varied that mode, by certain rules, according to the variation of ſentiment or paſſion in the poetical phraſes, and always returned to it at the cloſe of the air, many reaſons induce me to believe; though I cannot but admit, that their modulation muſt have been greatly confined by the reſtriction of certain modes to certain ſeaſons and hours, unleſs thoſe reſtrictions belonged merely to the principal mode. The ſcale of *Vínà* we find comprized both our *European* modes; and if ſome of the notes can be raiſed a ſemitone by a ſtronger preſſure on the frets, a delicate and experienced finger might produce the effect of minute enharmonick intervals: the conſtruction of the inſtrument, therefore, ſeems to favour my conjecture; and an excellent judge of the ſubject informs us, that, "the open wires are "from time to time ſtruck in a manner that prepares "the ear for a change of modulation, to which the "uncommonly full and fine tones of thoſe notes "greatly

"greatly contribute." We may add, that the *Hindu* poets never fail to change the *metre*, which is their *mode*, according to the change of ſubject or ſentiment in the ſame piece; and I could produce inſtances of *poetical modulation* (if ſuch a phraſe may be uſed) at leaſt equal to the moſt affecting modulations of our greateſt compoſers: now the muſician muſt naturally have emulated the poet, as every tranſlator endeavours to reſemble his original: and ſince each of the *Indian* modes is appropriated to a certain affection of the mind, it is hardly poſſible, that, where the paſſion is varied, a ſkilful muſician could avoid a variation of the mode. The rules for modulation ſeem to be contained in the chapters on *mixed modes*, for an intermixture of *Mellárì* with *Tódi* and *Saindhavì*, means, I ſuppoſe, a tranſition, however ſhort, from one to another: but the queſtion muſt remain undecided, unleſs we can find in the *Sangítas* a clearer account of modulation than I am able to produce, or unleſs we can procure a copy of the *Gítagóvinda* with the muſick to which it was ſet before the time of CALIDAS, in ſome notation that may be eaſily decyphered. It is obvious, that I have not been ſpeaking of a modulation regulated by harmony, with which the *Hindus*, I believe, were unacquainted; though, like the *Greeks*, they diſtinguiſh the *conſonant* and *diſſonant* ſounds: I mean only ſuch a tranſition from one ſeries of notes to another, as we ſee deſcribed by the *Greek* muſicians, who were ignorant of *harmony*, in the modern ſenſe of the word; and, perhaps, if they had known it ever ſo perfectly, would have applied it ſolely to the ſupport of melody, which alone ſpeaks the language of paſſion and ſentiment.

It would give me pleaſure to cloſe this eſſay with ſeveral ſpecimens of old *Indian* airs from the fifth chapter of SO'MA; but I have leiſure only to preſent you with one of them in our own characters, accom-

panied with the original notes: I ſelected the mode of *Vaſanta*, becauſe it was adopted by JAYADE'VA himſelf to the moſt beautiful of his odes, and becauſe the number of notes in SÓMA compared with that of the ſyllables in the *Sanſcrit* ſtanza, may lead us to gueſs, that the ſtrain itſelf was applied by the muſician to the very words of the poet. The words are

Lalita lavanga latá perisílana cómala malaya ſamíré,
Madhucara nicara carambita cócila cújita cunja cutíré
Viharati heririha ſaraſa vaſanté
Nrĭtyati yuvati janéna ſaman ſac'hi virahi janaſya duranté.

" While the ſoft gale of *Malaya* wafts perfume " from the beautiful clove-plant, and the receſs of " each flowery arbour ſweetly reſounds with the " ſtrains of the *Cócila* mingled with the murmurs of " the honey-making ſwarms, HERI dances, O lovely " friend, with a company of damſels in this vernal " ſeaſon: a ſeaſon full of delights, but painful to ſe- " parated lovers."

I have noted SÓMA's air in the major mode of A, or *ſa*, which, from its gaiety and brilliancy, well expreſſes the general hilarity of the ſong; but the ſentiment of tender pain, even in a ſeaſon of delights, from the remembrance of pleaſures no longer attainable, would require in our muſick a change to the minor mode; and the air might be diſpoſed in the form of a rondeau, ending with the ſecond line, or even with the third, where the ſenſe is equally full, if it ſhould be thought proper to expreſs by another modulation, that *imitative melody* which the poet has manifeſtly attempted: the meaſure is very rapid, and the air ſhould be gay, or even quick, in exact proportion to it.

The following is a ſtrain in the mode of HINDÓLA, beginning and ending with the fifth note *ſa*, but wanting

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

हिंदोलः

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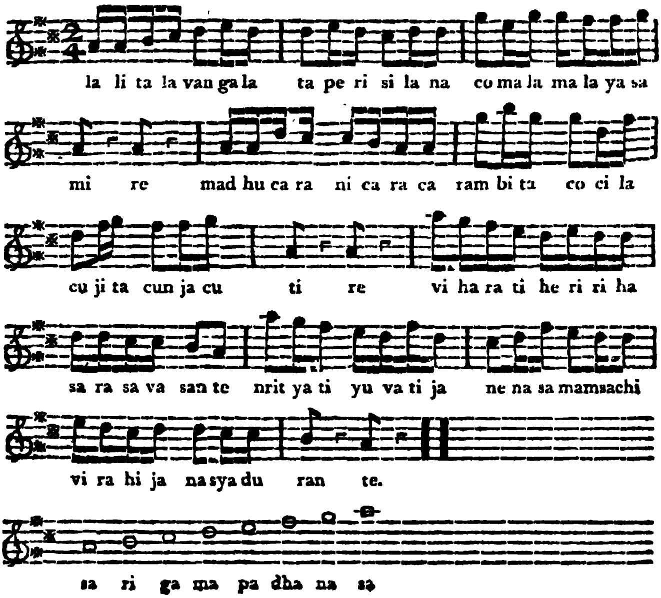
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ing *pa*, and *ri*, or the ſecond and ſixth: I could eaſily have found words for it in the *Gítagóvinda*, but the united charms of poetry and muſick would lead me too far; and I muſt now with reluctance bid farewel to a ſubject, which I deſpair of having leiſure to reſume.

AN OLD INDIAN AIR.



A LETTER

From LIEUTENANT BROWNE *to the* PRESIDENT.

DEAR SIR,

IN the courſe of reading hiſtory, it is a reflection, which muſt, I think, have occurred to every one, that if the actors in the moſt material events could have foreſeen the importance which thoſe events would have in the eyes of poſterity, they would certainly have preſerved ſuch detailed and circumſtantial relations of them, as would have prevented the general darkneſs and uncertainty which we now experience and lament: but it has probably ſeldom happened, that their genius, or leiſure from more important concerns, has admitted of this; and thus we are from neceſſity often compelled to reſt ſatisfied with imperfect traditions, repeated (or, which is worſe, arbitrarily) by ſubſequent hiſtorians.

With what avidity ſhould we now peruſe an account written by any of the principal perſons preſent at the battle of *Haſtings*, of *Lincoln*, of *Lewes*, of *Eveſham*, of *Creſſy*, of *Agincourt*, of *Towton*, or of *Boſworth!* but in thoſe days a general or ſtateſman was as unſkilful with his pen as he was expert with his ſword; and the monks, who were almoſt the only writers, were ſeldom participators of ſuch active ſcenes.

Conſidering this, as well as the importance which the wars and politics of *Hindoſtan* have now acquired in the opinions of *European* hiſtorians, I cannot avoid believing, that the great events of this country will hereafter be ſought for with as much diligence,

as

as thofe of the early part of *European* hiftory are at prefent: if I am not miftaken in this, the Battle of *Paniput* will be among thofe events which will claim the greateft attention, both as a military action, and as an era from which the reduction of the *Mahratta* power may be fixed, who otherwife would probably have long ago reduced the whole of *Hindoftan* to their obedience.

It appeared to me in this light at a time when a very particular and authentick narrative of that action came into my poffeffion; and, as the plainnefs of the original led me to believe myfelf competent to the tafk, I was induced to undertake the tranflating it into *Englifh*, that the difficulty of reading it in the *Perfian* might not prevent its being as generally known as its hiftorical importance merits.

It is almoft fuperfluous to tell you, dear Sir, who are fo well verfed in *Afiatick* hiftory, that this battle was fought in the month of January, 1761, between the united forces of all the *Mahratta* chiefs on one fide, commanded by SEDASHEO, (commonly called the BHOW,) and the combined armies of the *Durranies*, *Rohillas*, and *Hindoftany Muffulmans*, on the other, under the command of AHMED SHAH DURRANY: few battles have been more bloody, or decifive of greater events; for, had the *Mahrattas* been conquerors, they would have put a final period to the *Muffulman* dominion in *Hindoftan*, and eftablifhed their own in its place; but, as it happened, the power of the *Mahrattas* received a fhock, from which it has never entirely recovered; and the DURRANY SHAH, having returned precipitately to his own dominions, left the difunited *Rohillas*, and *Hindoftany Muffulmans*, to carry on, as they could, their diftracted government, under a wretched pageant of royalty, and a divided and unprincipled nobility.

The

The writer of this narrative, CASI RAJ PUNDIT, was a *Muttaseddy* in the service of the late Vizier, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH; and being by birth a native of the *Decan*, acquainted with the *Mahratta* language, and having some friends in the service of the BHOW, he became the channel of several overtures for peace, which the BHOW endeavoured to negociate through SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH: this, together with the accuracy and clearness of his narrative, makes it much more interesting than any other which I have seen. The translation is, however, far from literal, as I endeavoured to make the style as plain and unadorned as possible.

Such as it is, permit me, dear Sir, to offer it to you, and to leave it to your disposal: if I am so happy as to know that it receives your approbation, as likely to prove useful in elucidating the history of this country, I shall think myself sufficiently rewarded for the time it has taken up. Believe me to be, with the greatest esteem and respect,

DEAR SIR,

Your very faithful

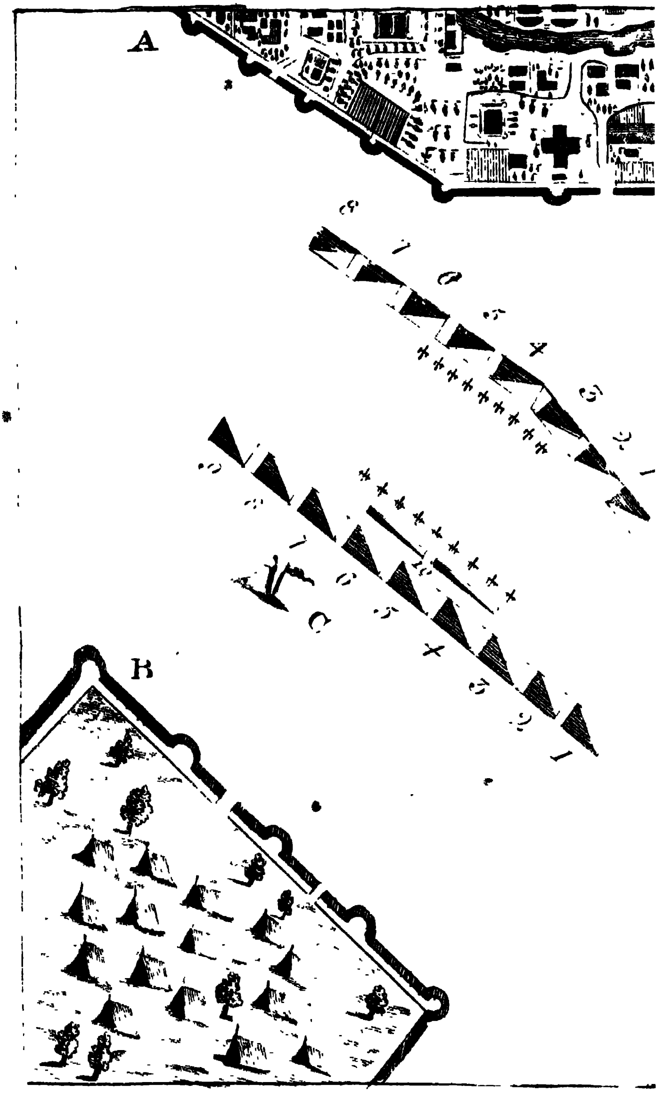
and obedient Servant,

Dinapore,
February 1, 1791.

JAMES BROWNE.

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PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT.



V.

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE BATTLE OF PANIPUT,

AND OF THE EVENTS LEADING TO IT,

Written in Persian by CA'SI RAJA PUNDIT, *who was present at the Battle.*

BALA ROW, *Pundit Pradhán*, who sat on the *Musnud* of government in the *Decan*, was considered by the chiefs and inhabitants of *Hindostan* as a man of wisdom, circumspection, and good fortune: but he naturally loved his ease and pleasure, which did not however lose him the respect and attachment of his people.

As long as harmony prevailed in his family, he left the entire management of all the affairs of government to SEDASHEO* ROW BHOW, and gave himself up to pleasure.

SEDASHEO, from his earliest years, had studied every branch of the art of government, the regulation of the finances and the army, and the conduct of all publick affairs, under the instruction of RAMCHUNDRA BABA *Sindhvi*, the greatest statesman of the age; and from the first watch of the day till the middle of the night, applied to the publick business. By his great experience, address, and ability, he brought men over to his opinion, to a co-operation in his measures, and a perfect reliance upon his wisdom and ability. Several important affairs, both in the *Decan* and the provinces, had been brought to a conclusion by his means; and at length an expedition was fitted out for completing

* Properly *Sadásiva*.

pleting the conqueſt of *Hindoſtan*, under the ſupreme command of RAGHUNAUT ROW. MULHAR ROW HULKUR, JUNKOOGEE SINDIA, and ſeveral other chiefs, were ordered to act under him with very powerful forces. They accordingly marched into *Hindoſtan*, and with little difficulty reduced every place to their obedience, until they came to the neighbourhood of *Lahore* and *Shahdowla:* here they were oppoſed by JEHAN KHAN, and the other cammanders left in thoſe diſtricts by AHMED SHAH DURRANY, whom they defeated, and compelled to repaſs the *Attock*. They kept poſſeſſion of that country for ſome time, but the army beginning to fall conſiderably in arrears, RAGHUNAUT ROW thought it adviſeable to return to the *Decan*.

Upon the return of RAGHUNAUT ROW, the accounts of his expedition being inſpected by the BHOW, it was found that a debt of eighty-eight lacs of rupees was due to the army, ſo much had the expences been allowed to exceed all the collections of tribute, *piſhcuſh*, &c. The BHOW, who was in every reſpect ſuperior to RAGHUNAUT, reproached him ſeverely for this, and aſked him if that was his good management, to bring home debts inſtead of an increaſe of wealth to the treaſury of the ſtate; which RAGHUNAUT ROW replied to, by adviſing him to try his own ſkill next time, and ſee what advantage he could make of it. BALA ROW, however, interfered, and reconciled them in ſome degree, by excuſing RAGHUNAUT ROW on account of his youth and inexperience.

Next year the ſcheme of reducing *Hindoſtan* being renewed, and the command again offered to RAGHUNAUT ROW; he declined it, ſaying, "Let thoſe have "the command who are well-wiſhers to the ſtate, and who will conſult the public advantage." This ſpeech gave great offence to the BHOW; and, on many conſiderations, he offered himſelf to take the com-

 mand

mand of the expedition; taking with him BISWAS ROW, the eldeſt ſon of BALA ROW, then ſeventeen years of age, as the nominal commander in chief, according to the ancient cuſtom of the *Mahrattas**. The army under his command was very numerous, and they ſet out on their expedition without delay; but, as ſoon as they had paſſed the *Nerbudda*†, the BHOW began to exerciſe his authority in a new and offenſive manner, and both in ſettling the accounts of the army and revenue, and in all public buſineſs, he ſhowed a capricious and ſelf-conceited conduct. He totally excluded from his council MULHAR ROW, and all the other chiefs who were experienced in the affairs of *Hindoſtan*, and who had credit and influence with the principal people in that country, and carried on every thing by his own opinion alone.

When he came to *Seronga*, he diſpatched *Vákeels* with preſents to all the principal chiefs in *Hindoſtan*, inviting them to an alliance and co-operation with him, for the purpoſe of ſettling the affairs of *Hindoſtan*. Among the reſt, a *Vakeel* came with the above propoſal to the *Navab* SHUJAH-UL-DOWLAH, bringing with him a preſent of fine cloths and jewels to a conſiderable amount; and informing him, at the ſame time, that whenever the BHOW ſhould arrive near him, he would diſpatch NAROO SHUNKER to conduct SHŬJAH-UL-DOWLAH to him. SHUJAH-UL-DOWLAH anſwered him in the language of profeſſion, but determined in his own mind to keep himſelf diſengaged from both parties, and to be a ſpectator of the expected conteſt till his future conduct ſhould be determined by the event, when he deſigned to join the victors.

AHMED

* Properly *Maháráſhtras*.

† Properly *Nermada*.

Ahmed Shah Durrany, after the defeat of Dattea Jee Putul Sindia, cantoned his army in the district of *Anufshair*, upon the banks of the *Ganges*; and Dattea Jee Putul himself having been killed in an action with Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, the latter was apprehensive of the consequences of the resentment of the *Mahrattas*, and therefore united himself closely with the Durrany Shah, who was himself excited to invade *Hindostan* by a wish to revenge the defeat of his General Jehan Khan the preceding year, but still by the solicitations of Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, who agreed to bear the extra charges of the Shah's army, and, being himself a man of great military reputation, as well as an able politician, had persuaded all the *Rohilla* chiefs, and the *Patans* of *Ferokhabad*, to join the Durrany Shah.

The Bhow, besides his own *Decany* troops, had brought with him all the auxiliaries that he could collect in *Malwa*, *Jansye*, &c. under the command of the several *Aumils*, such as Naroo Shunker and others; and, as soon as he arrived at the river *Chumbul*, he sent a confidential person to *Raja* Surja Mul, chief of the *Jauts*, proposing a conference, and that Surja Mul should enter into alliance with him. Surja Mul sent him word in reply, that his negotiations with the *Mahrattas* had always been conducted through the mediation of Mulhar Row and the Sindeas, and that if they chose to interfere on the present occasion, he was ready to wait on the Bhow. The Bhow from necessity asked those chiefs to assist him in this matter, which they having consented to, as soon as the army of the *Mahrattas* approached to *Agra*, Surja Mul paid his respects to the Bhow; and the conversation turning on the most advisable mode of conducting the war, Surja Mul said, "You are the master of *Hindostan*, possessed of "all things; I am but a *Zemindar*, yet will give my "advice

"advice according to the extent of my comprehen-"fion and knowledge. In the firft place, the families "of the chiefs and foldiers, the large train of bag-"gage, and the heavy artillery, will be great impedi-"ments to carrying on the kind of war which you "have now in hand. Your troops are more light and "expeditious than thofe of *Hindoftan;* but the *Durranies* "are ftill more expeditious than you. It is therefore "advifable to take the field againft them quite uincum-"bered, and to leave the fuperfluous baggage and fol-"lowers on the other fide of the *Chumbul,* under the "protection of *Janfye* or *Gualiar;* which places are "under your authority.

"Or, I will put you in poffeffion of one of the "large forts in my country, *Deig* or *Combeir,* or "*Burtpoor,* in which you may lodge the baggage and "followers; and I will join you with all my forces. "In this arrangement, you will have the advantage "of a free communication with a friendly country "behind you, and need be under no apprehenfions "refpecting fupplies to your army; and there is "reafon to believe, that the enemy will not be able "to advance fo far, but will by this plan of opera-"tions be obliged to difperfe, without effecting any "thing."

Mulhar Row, and the other chiefs, approved of this advice, and obferved, "that trains of artillery "were fuitable to the royal armies, but that the "*Mahratta* mode of war was predatory; and their "beft way was to follow the method to which they "had been accuftomed; that *Hindoftan* was not their "hereditary poffeffion; and, if they could not fucceed "in reducing it, it would be no difgrace to them to "retreat again. That the advice of Surja Mul was "excellent; and that the plan which he propofed, "would certainly compel the enemy to retreat, as they

"had no fixed poſſeſſion in the country. That their "object for the preſent, therefore, ſhould be to gain "time till the breaking up of the rains, when the "*Durranies* would certainly return to their own "country."

Notwithſtanding that all the *Mahratta* chiefs were unanimous in recommending this plan, the BHOW, relying on the ſtrength of his army, and his own courage and ability, would not liſten to it, but ſaid, "that "his inferiors had acquired military reputation by "their actions in that country; and it never ſhould "be reproached to him, that he, who was the ſuperior, had gained nothing but the diſgrace of acting "defenſively." And he reproached MULHAR ROW with having outlived his activity and his underſtanding: at the ſame time ſaying, "that SURJA MUL was only a "*Zemindar;* that his advice was ſuitable enough to his "rank and capacity, but not worth the conſideration "of men ſo much his ſuperiors."

Men of wiſdom and experience were ſurprized at this arrogance and obſtinacy in a man who always formerly had ſhown ſo much good ſenſe and circumſpection as the BHOW had done till this expedition; and concluded, that fate had ordained the miſcarriage of their enterpriſe. Every one became diſguſted by his harſh and offenſive ſpeeches; and they ſaid among themſelves, "It is better that this *Brahman* "ſhould once meet with a defeat, or elſe what weight "and conſideration ſhall we be allowed?"

The BHOW poſted a body of troops to prevent SURJA MUL from leaving the camp: this alarmed him very much, but, as all the chiefs were of one opinion, MULHAR ROW and the reſt adviſed him not to be haſty, but to act as circumſtances ſhould direct; and, for the preſent, to remain for the ſatisfaction of the BHOW.

After

After this, the BHOW marched from *Agra* to *Dehly*, and at once laid siege to the royal castle, where YACOOB ALY KHAN (who was nephew to the *Durrany Vizier*, SHAH VULLI KHAN) commanded, and summoned him to surrender the castle, after the batteries had played some days. YACOOB ALY KHAN finding that resistance was vain, by the advice of SHAH VULLI KHAN, capitulated through the other *Mahratta* chiefs' mediation, and delivered the castle up to the BHOW, who entered it with BISWAS ROW, and seized upon a great part of the royal effects that he found there: especially the ceiling of the great hall of audience, which was of silver, and made at an immense expense, was pulled down, and coined into seventeen lacks of rupees. Many other actions of the same kind were done; and it was generally reported to be the BHOW's design to get rid of such of the principal *Hindostany* chiefs as stood in his way; and, after the DURRANY SHAH should return to his own country, to place BISWAS ROW upon the throne of *Dehly*. This intelligence was brought to the *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, and it is on his authority that I relate it.

In the mean time the rains set in, and the BHOW cantoned his army in *Dehly*, and for twelve coss round it, residing himself in the castle; while AHMED SHAH DURRANY remained in cantonments near *Anufshair*. NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH gave him exact information of every thing that passed; upon which intelligence the SHAH told him, "that, as SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH was a "chief of great weight and power, and vizier of *Hindostan*, it was of the greatest importance to secure "him to their interest, and to persuade him to join "them; for that, should he be gained by the *Mahrattas*, the worst consequences must arise from it. "That it was not necessary that he should bring a "large army with him: his coming even with a few "would very considerably strengthen their cause.

"That on a former occasion, when he (AHMED SHAH)
"invaded *Hindostan*, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's father,
"SUFDER JUNG, had opposed him, and been the
"principal means of his failure. That no doubt
"this would make SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH apprehen-
"sive and suspicious of him, and therefore NUJEIB-
"UL-DOWLAH must endeavour by every means to
"get the better of that obstacle, lest SHUJA-UL-
"DOWLAH should join the opposite party. That this
"was a negociation too nice and important to be
"conducted by *Vakeels*, or by letters, and that there-
"fore NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH must go himself with a
"small escort, and in person prevail on SHUJA-UL-
"DOWLAH to join them."

AHMED SHAH DURRANY, and his vizier, SHAH VULLI KHAN, sent written treatises of alliance, and the *Koran* sealed with their seals, by NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, who, taking his leave of the DURRANY SHAH, set out with an escort of two thousand horse, and in three days got to *Mindy Gaut*, on the *Ganges*.

SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, some time before this, had been encamped on his frontier near the *Ganges*, for the protection of his country, and, receiving information of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH's sudden arrival, he found himself under the necessity of giving him a meeting, and showing him all the honours which hospitality and politeness demanded. NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH showed him the treaties proposed by the DURRANY SHAH, and gave him every assurance and encouragement possible, both from the DURRANY SHAH and from himself; and explained to him also the perils of their own situation. "For my own part," said he, "I give over every hope of safety, when I reflect "that the BHOW is my declared enemy; but it be-"hoves you also to take care of yourself, and to se-"cure an ally in one of the parties: and, as you know "the BHOW bears a mortal hatred to all *Mussulmans*,

"whenever

"whenever he has the power to ſhow his enmity, nei-"ther you nor I, nor any other *Muſſulman*, will "eſcape. Though, after all, the deſtiny of God "will be fulfilled, yet we ought alſo to exerciſe our "own faculties to their utmoſt. From my friendſhip "to you, I have come this diſtance to explain things "to you, though averſe from all unneceſſary trouble. "Now conſider and determine. The *Begum*, your "mother, is capable of adviſing us both: conſult her "upon the occaſion, as well as the reſt of your fami-"ly, and determine on what you ſhall think beſt."

After conſidering the matter for two or three days, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH concluded, that it would be very unſafe and improper to join the *Mahrattas:* and to decline the proffered friendſhip of the other party, would be impolitick, eſpecially after their deputing a man of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH's rank to him; and would never be forgiven either by the SHAH, or the *Rohilla* chiefs. Yet the danger appeared very great, whether the victory ſhould fall to the *Mahrattas*, or to the *Durranies*. He at length, however, determined to follow the advice of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and to join the DURRANY SHAH. He accordingly diſpatched his women to *Lucknow*, appointed *Raja* BENI BEHADER *Naib Subah* during his abſence, and, ſetting out with NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and arriving at the *Durrany* camp near *Anufshair*, was preſented to AHMED SHAH DURRANY, who treated him with the greateſt conſideration and honour, told him that he conſidered him as one of his *own children*; that he waited for his arrival, and now would ſhew him the puniſhment of the *Mahrattas*, with many proofs of his friendſhip. He at the ſame time proclaimed it through his own camp, that no *Durrany* ſhould preſume to commit any violence or irregularity in SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's camp: that any one who did, ſhould be put to immediate death; adding, that SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH was the ſon of SUFDER

JUNG, the gueſt of AHMED SHAH's family; and that he conſidered him as dear as his own child. The grand vizier SHAH VULLI KHAN, who was a man in the higheſt eſteem and reſpect with all ranks, called SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH his ſon alſo, and treated him with the higheſt diſtinction.

As the common ſoldiers among *Durranies* are ſtubborn and diſobedient, notwithſtanding the SHAH's proclamation, they committed ſome irregularities in SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's camp: the SHAH, hearing of this, had two hundred of them ſeized upon, and, having had their noſes bored through with arrows, and ſtrings paſſed through the holes, they were led in this condition, like camels, to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, to be put to death or pardoned, as he ſhould think proper. He accordingly had them releaſed; and from that time none of the *Durrany* ſoldiers made the leaſt diſturbance in SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's camp.

Soon after this, though the rains were ſtill at their height, the SHAH marched from *Anufshair*, and cantoned his army at *Shahdera*, on the bank of the *Jumna*, oppoſite to the city of *Dehly*. Many poſts of the *Mahratta* army were within ſight; but the river was too deep and rapid to be paſſed.

The BHOW ſent BOWANY SHUNKER PUNDIT, a native of *Aurungabad*, and a man of good ſenſe and experience, with ſome overtures to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH; telling him that there was no ground for enmity between the *Mahrattas* and his Excellency's family; on the contrary, they had formerly given great ſupport and aſſiſtance to SUFDER JUNG, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's father. Why then did the *Navab* join their enemies? That their not having long ſince deſired him to join them in perſon, was ſolely owing to their unwillingneſs to give him inconvenience. That now it was

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by all means neceſſary for him to join them, or at leaſt to ſeparate himſelf from the other party, and to ſend ſome perſon of character and rank, on his part, to reſide within the camp.

Accordingly the *Navab* ſent RAJA DEBYDUT, a native of *Debly*, who was in his ſervice; a man of great eloquence, (whoſe father had been the royal treaſurer during the adminiſtration of the *Syeds*; and he himſelf had been one of the houſehold during the reign of MOHAMMED SHAH,) to accompany BOWANY SHUNKER. The *Navab* alſo ſent ROW CASY RAJ, (the writer of this narrative,) who had been in the ſervice of SUFDER JUNG, and much favoured by him. His Excellency told BOWANY SHUNKER that I (CASY RAJ) was alſo a *Decany*, and introduced me to him in his own preſence; where we ſoon recognized our being of the ſame caſt and country. BOWANY SHUNKER wrote the BHOW word of my being employed in this affair; upon which the BHOW cauſed a letter to be written to me in the *Decan* language; but as there was ſome deficiency in the form of addreſs, I did not reply to it. The BHOW inquired of BOWANY SHUNKER why I neglected to anſwer his letter; which being explained, he was very angry with his *Munſhy*.

When *Raja* DEBYDUT got to the BHOW's camp, the negotiation began; but the BHOW being diſſatisfied with this agent, he ſent BOWANY SHUNKER back to tell SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, that RAJA DEBYDUT was too unguarded a man to be entruſted with ſecrets of ſuch importance: he therefore deſired the *Navab* would ſend a truſty man entirely to be relied on, and ſend word by him preciſely what ſteps were to be purſued.

At the ſame time other overtures came from MULHAR ROW, and *Raja* SURJA MUL, to know what part they

they ſhould act. All theſe propoſals the *Navab* communicated exactly to NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and the grand vizier; and negotiated with the *Mahrattas* by their advice.

NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH threw every obſtacle that he could in the way of peace: but the grand vizier told SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, that, if a peace could be brought about through his means, it would be better; that he was very willing to forward it, and would engage to obtain the SHAH's concurrence. In fact, he was at this time on but indifferent terms with NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH.

At length it was reſolved to ſend the eunuch MOHAMMED YACOOB KHAN with their propoſals to the *Mahrattas*, and to tell them from SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, that he acknowledged the friendſhip which had always ſubſiſted between them and him; that however it was neither proper nor practicable for him to join them, but that on every proper occaſion he was ready to manifeſt his friendſhip, by giving them the beſt intelligence and advice; and, ſince they aſked his opinion in the preſent inſtance, he would adviſe them to avoid attempting any other mode of carrying on the war, than the predatory and deſultory one, to which they were accuſtomed: or that, if they preferred peace, means ſhould be deviſed for obtaining it.

They at the ſame time wrote to *Raja* SURJA MUL, adviſing him to quit the *Mahrattas*, and return to his own country; which advice coinciding with his own opinion, he promiſed to follow it.

The BHOW, in anſwer to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, acknowledged the kindneſs of his advice and conduct, and promiſed to pay attention to what he had ſaid. That

That as to peace, he had no caufe of quarrel with the DURRANY SHAH, who might march back to his own country whenever he pleafed; that all the country on the other fide of the *Attock* fhould remain in the pof-feffion of the SHAH, and all on this fide of it fhould belong to the chiefs of *Hindoftan*, who might divide and fettle it as they could agree among themfelves. Or, if this fhould not fatisfy the SHAH, he fhould pof-fefs as far as *Lahore*. Laftly, he faid, that, if the SHAH infifted on ftill more, he fhould have as far as *Sirhind*, leaving the remainder to the chiefs of *Hindoftan*, as was faid before. With this anfwer YACOOB KHAN returned.

Two days after this, SURJA MUL, who was en-camped at *Bidderpoor*, fix cofs from *Dehly*, by the advice of MULHAR ROW, and the other difaffected chiefs, under pretence of changing the ground of his encampment, fent off all his baggage and camp-followers towards his own country, and, when he re-ceived intelligence that they had got ten cofs on their way, he followed them with his divifions of troops, and had got a great diftance, before the BHOW heard of his departure. In a day and two nights he march-ed fifty cofs, and reached the ftrong holds of his own country.

The BHOW made no account of his defection, only faying, that fuch conduct was to be expected from mere *Zemindars*; that his going was of no importance, but rather to be rejoiced at, fince he did not quit them at any time when they might have relied on him for material fervice.

MOHAMMED YACOOB KHAN, returning to camp, reported all the BHOW's overtures; but, as neither party were fincerely in earneft, the negotiation went on but flowly.

Meantime,

Meantime, the rains drawing near to an end, the BHOW determined to reduce the ſtrong poſt of *Kunjpoora*, which is ſituated on the banks of the *Jumna*, about fifty coſs above *Dehly*, at that time occupied by about 10,000 *Rohillas*, as the poſſeſſion of that place would ſecure his paſſing the river to attack the SHAH. He accordingly marched from *Dehly*, and, arriving at *Kunjpoora*, aſſaulted it with fifteen thouſand choſen men; and, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of the place, taking the governor, DULEIL KHAN, and all the garriſon, priſoners, and delivering up the place to plunder. The DURRANY SHAH had exact intelligence of all this proceeding, and was very deſirous of relieving *Kunjpoora;* but the *Jumna* was yet impaſſible.

Soon after the rains broke up, and the *Duſſura* arrived: the SHAH gave orders, that the day before the *Duſſura*, all the army ſhould be aſſembled for muſter; which being done, he reviewed them himſelf from an eminence in front of the camp.

The *Durrany* army conſiſted of twenty-four *Duſtas*, (or regiments,) each containing twelve hundred horſemen. The principal chiefs in command under the SHAH, were the grand vizier SHAH VULLI KHAN,—JEHAN KHAN,—SHAH PUSSUND KHAN,—NUSSIR KHAN BELOCHE,—BERKHORDAR KHAN, *Vizier* ULLA KHAN *Kizelbaſhi*,—MORAD KHAN, a *Perſian Moghol*.—Beſides theſe principal chiefs, there were many others of inferior rank; and of the twenty-four *Duſtas* above-mentioned, ſix were of the SHAH's ſlaves, called *Koleran*.

There were alſo two thouſand camels, on each of which were mounted two muſketeers, armed with pieces of a very large bore, called *Zumburucks;* forty pieces of cannon, and a great number of *ſhuternals*,

or

or ſwivels, mounted on camels: this was the ſtrength of the *Durrany* army.

With the *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH there were two thouſand horſe, two thouſand foot, and twenty pieces of cannon of different ſizes:

With NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, ſix thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand *Rohilla* foot, with great numbers of rockets:

With DOONDY KHAN and HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN, fifteen thouſand *Rohilla* foot, and four thouſand horſe, with ſome pieces of cannon:

And with AHMED KHAN BUNGHAS, one thouſand horſe, one thouſand foot, with ſome pieces of cannon; making all together forty-one thouſand eight hundred horſe, and thirty-eight thouſand foot, with between ſeventy and eighty pieces of cannon.

This I know to have been preciſely the ſtate of the *Muſſulman* army, having made repeated and particular inquiries before I ſet it down, both from the dufter (or office) of muſters, and from thoſe by whom the daily proviſions were diſtributed. But the numbers of irregulars who accompanied theſe troops, were four times that number; and their horſes and arms were very little inferior to thoſe of the regular *Durranies*. In action, it was their cuſtom immediately after the regulars had charged and broken the enemy, to fall upon them ſword in hand, and complete the rout. All the *Durranies* were men of great bodily ſtrength, and their horſes of the *Turki* breed; naturally vey hardy, and rendered ſtill more ſo by continual exerciſe.

AHMED

Ahmed Shah Durrany iſſued orders to his army to be ready to march two days after the muſter.

On the other ſide, the Bhow, having reduced *Kunjpoora*, retired to *Dehly*, and ordered a muſter of his army; when the ſtrength of it appeared to be as follows:

Under Ibrahim Khan Gardee, two thouſand horſe, and nine thouſand ſepoys, with firelocks, diſciplined after the *European* manner; together with forty pieces of cannon.

The *Khaſs Pāgāh*, or houſehold troops,	6,000 horſe.
Mulhar Row and Hulker,	5,000 horſe.
Junkoojee Sindia,	10,000 horſe.
Amajee Guickwar,	3,000 horſe.
Jeswont Row, Powar,	2,000 horſe.
Shumshere Behader,	3,000 horſe.
Belajee Jadoon,	3,000 horſe.
Rajah Betul Shudeo,	3,000 horſe.
Bulmont Row, brother-in-law to the Bhow, and his great adviſer in every thing,	7,000 horſe.
Biswas Row's own Pāgāh,	5,000 horſe.
Antajee Mankeser,	2,000 horſe.

There were ſeveral other ſmaller bodies, which cannot now be recollected: the whole army amounted to fifty-five thouſand horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot, including Ibrahim Khan's ſepoys.

There were alſo two hundred pieces of cannon, and rockets and *ſhuternals* without number.

Beſides

Besides these, the *Pindary* chiefs, CHURGORY and HOOL SEWAR, had fifteen thousand *Pindaries* under their authority; and there were two or three thousand horse with the *Rhatore* and *Cutchwa* vakeels. These, with five or six thousand horse more, were left to guard *Dehly*, under command of BOWANY SHUNKER.

Two days after the *Dussara*, which was the 17th of *October*, 1760, AHMED SHAH DURRANY marched from his camp, ordering his baggage to follow the army; and marching all night, encamped next day at the ford of *Baugput*, eighteen coss above *Dehly*. He searched in vain for the ford, the river being still very high, and several horsemen attempting to pass, were drowned. The SHAH having fasted and performed religious ceremonies for two days, on the third a ford was discovered, but it was very narrow, and on each side the water was so deep, as to drown whoever went the least out of the proper track.

The troops began to pass the ford on the 23d of *October*, and the SHAH himself passed as soon as half of his army was on the other side. The whole army was completely crossed in two days; but from their numbers, and the great expedition used, many people lost their lives.

As soon as the army had crossed, the SHAH marched towards the enemy, who also moved to meet him; and on the 26th of *October*, in the afternoon, the *Herawil* (or advanced guard) of the two armies met each other near *Sumalkeh Seray*, and an action ensued, in which the *Mahrattas* had the disadvantage, and retreated at sun-set, with the loss of near two thousand men, while not more than one thousand were killed and wounded on the part of AHMED SHAH. The SHAH's army returned to their camp.

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The next day AHMED SHAH moved forward again, and ſo on for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, conſtantly ſkirmiſhing, but ſtill gaining ground on the *Mahrattas*, till they came to *Paniput*, where the BHOW determined to fix his camp, which he accordingly did, and incloſed that, as well as the town of *Paniput*, with a trench ſixty feet wide and twelve deep, with a good rampart, on which he mounted his cannon. The SHAH encamped about four coſs from the *Mahratta* lines: and as he had always, during his march, ſurrounded his camp at night with felled trees, ſo in this camp, which was to remain fixed for ſome time, the abattis was made ſomething ſtronger, and the chiefs encamped in the followidg order:

The SHAH in the centre;
On his left, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH;
On his left, NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH;
On the right of the SHAH, HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN;
On his right, DOONDY KHAN;
On his right, AHMED KHAN BUNGUS.

The ſpace occupied by the whole front was near three coſs and a half.

The BHOW had before given orders to GOBIND PUNDIT, who had the command and collections of *Korah*, *Kurrah*, *Etowa*, *Shekcabad*, and the reſt of the *Doab*, as well as of *Kalpee*, and other diſtricts acroſs the *Jumna*, as far as *Sagbur*, to collect all the forces he poſſibly could, and to cut off all communication for proviſions from the rear of the SHAH's army. GOBIND PUNDIT having got together ten or twelve thouſand horſe, advanced as far as *Mirbet*, in the rear of the SHAH, and ſo effectually cut off all ſupplies, that the SHAH's army was in the greateſt diſtreſs for proviſions, coarſe flour ſelling for two rupees per ſeer, and the troops conſequently very much diſſatisfied.

diſſatisfied. The SHAH, therefore, detached ATTAI KHAN, nephew to the grand vizier, with a *Duſta*, conſiſting of two thouſand choſen horſe, and ordered him to march day and night, till he ſhould come up with GOBIND PUNDIT, and having cut off his head, to bring it to the preſence. He ſet out accordingly, being joined by eight or ten thouſand of the irregulars, and having marched about forty coſs during the night, at day break they fell like lightning upon the camp of GOBIND PUNDIT, where, having no intelligence of the *Durranies'* approach, they were ſeized with terror and amazement, and fled on all ſides. GOBIND PUNDIT himſelf attempted to eſcape upon a *Turki* horſe; but being old, and not a very expert horſeman, he was thrown off in the purſuit; and the *Durranies* coming up, cut off his head, and carried it to camp, where it was recognized for the head of GOBIND PUNDIT.

After plundering the enemy's camp, and driving away their ſcattered troops on all ſides, ATTAI KHAN returned to the SHAH's camp, the fourth day from that on which he was detached, and preſented his Majeſty with the head of GOBIND PUNDIT. The SHAH was highly pleaſed with this effectual performance of his orders, and beſtowed a very honorable *Kh[illegible]* on ATTAI KHAN. After this action, the *Durrany* army was conſtantly ſupplied with proviſions.

The BHOW was much affected with this news, eſpecially as it was accompanied with other events little favourable to his cauſe: but as he was a man of dignity and reſolution, he never betrayed any deſpondency, but made light of all the adverſe circumſtances which occurred.

Soon after the defeat of GOBIND PUNDIT, the BHOW ſent two thouſand horſe to *Dehly*, to receive ſome treaſure from NAROO SHUNKER, for the uſe of the army.

my. Theſe troops were inſtructed to march privately, by night, and by unfrequented roads, and each man to have a bag of two thouſand rupees given him to carry, as far as the ſum they ſhould receive would go. They executed their orders completely, as far as to the laſt march, on their return to the camp; but, unluckily for them, the night being dark, they miſtook their road, and went ſtraight to the *Durrany* camp inſtead of their own. On coming to the outpoſts, thinking them thoſe of their own camp, they began to call out in the *Mahratta* language, which immediately diſcovering them to the *Durranies*, they ſurrounded the *Mahrattas*, cut them to pieces, and plundered the treaſures.

From the day of their arrival in their preſent camp, Ahmed Shah Durrany cauſed a ſmall red tent to be pitched for him, a coſs in front of his camp, and he came to it every morning before ſun-riſe; at which time, after performing his morning-prayer, he mounted his horſe, and viſited every poſt of the army, accompanied by his ſon Timour Shah, and forty or fifty horſemen. He alſo reconnoitred the camp of the enemy, and, in a word, ſaw every thing with his own eyes, riding uſually forty or fifty coſs every day. After noon he returned to the ſmall tent, and ſometimes dined there, ſometimes at his own tents in the lines; and this was his daily practice.

At night there was a body of five thouſand horſe advanced as near as conveniently might be, towards the enemy's camp, where they remained all night under arms: other bodies went the rounds of the whole encampment; and Ahmed Shah uſed to ſay to the *Hindoſtany* chiefs, "Do you ſleep, I will take care that no "harm befalls you:" and to ſay the truth, his orders were obeyed like deſtiny, no man daring to heſitate or delay one moment in executing them.

Every day the troops and cannon on both ſides were drawn out, and a diſtant cannonade with many ſkirmiſhes of horſe took place: towards the evening both parties drew off to their camps. This continued for near three months; during this time there were three very ſevere, though partial actions.

The firſt was on the 29th *November*, 1760, when a body of *Mahrattas*, about fifteen thouſand ſtrong, having fallen upon the grand vizier's poſt on the left of the line, preſſed him very hard; till a reinforcement coming to his aſſiſtance, the action became very obſtinate: the *Mahrattas*, however, gave way about ſun-ſet, and were purſued to their own camp with great ſlaughter. Near four thouſand men were killed on the two ſides in this action.

The ſecond action was on the 23d of *December*, 1760, when NUJHIB-UL-DOWLAH having advanced pretty forward with his diviſion, he was attacked with ſo much vigour by BULMONT ROW, that his troops gave way, and only fifty horſemen remained with him; with which ſmall number, however, he kept his ground, till a reinforcement came to his aſſiſtance; the action was then renewed with great fury, and above three thouſand of NUJHIB-UL-DOWLAH's men were killed or wounded. Among the killed was KHALII-UL-RAHMAN, uncle to NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH. In the laſt charge, which was at near nine o'clock at night, BULMONT ROW was killed by a muſket-ball; upon which both parties retired to their own camps.

The third action was much in the ſame way; and thus every day were the two armies employed, from morning to nine or ten at night, till at length the *Hindoſtany* chiefs were out of all patience, and intreated the SHAH to put an end to their fatigues, by coming at once to a deciſive action; but his conſtant anſwer

anſwer was, "This is a matter of war, with which you "are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you pleaſe, "but leave this to me. Military operations muſt not "be precipitated. You ſhall ſee how I will manage this "affair; and at a proper opportunity will bring it to a "ſucceſsful concluſion."

As the *Darrany* army was vigilant both by day and night, to prevent the approach of any convoys, there began to be a great ſcarcity of proviſions and forage in the *Mahratta* camp.

One night, when about twenty thouſand of their camp-followers had gone out of their lines, to gather wood in a jungle at ſome diſtance, they happened to fall in with a body of five thouſand horſe, under the command of SHAH PUSSUND KHAN, who had the advanced guard that night, and who ſurrounded them on all ſides, put the whole to the ſword, no perſon coming to their aſſiſtance from the *Mahratta* camp. In the morning, when the affair was reported to the SHAH, he went out with moſt of his chiefs to the ſcene of the ſlaughter, where dead bodies were piled up into a perfect mountain!—ſo great had been the deſtruction of thoſe unhappy people.

The grief and terror which this event ſtruck into the *Mahrattas*, is not to be deſcribed; and even the BHOW himſelf began to give way to fear and deſpondence.

There was a news-writer of the BHOW's, called GONNIESH PUNDIT, who remained in the camp of the *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH; but not being of ſufficient importance to obtain acceſs to the *Navab*, any buſineſs that he had with the *Durbar*, he tranſacted through my means. Through this channel the BHOW often wrote letters to me, with his own hand, deſir-

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ing that I would urge the *Navab* to mediate a peace for him, in conjunction with the Grand *Vizier*; that he was ready to submit to any conditions, if he could but preserve himself and his army, and would by every means manifest his gratitude to the mediators. He also sent a handful of saffron (as is a custom with these people) and a written engagement (to which he had sworn) to abide by this promise; together with a turban set with rich jewels, as an exchange for one to be received from the *Navab*, who also returned proper presents, and promised to assist him.

The *Navab* often sent me to the Vizier upon this business. He was also very well disposed to listen to the Bhow's proposals, and spoke to the Shah about it. The Shah said, "that he had nothing to do in the matter; that he came thither at the solicitation of his countrymen the *Rohillas*, and other *Mussulmans*, to relieve them from their fear of the *Mahratta* yoke; that he claimed the entire conduct of the war, but left the *Hindostany* chiefs to carry on their negotiations as they pleased themselves."

All the other chiefs, Hafiz Rahmut Khan, Doondy Khan, and Ahmed Khan Bungush, were also satisfied to make peace with the Bhow; but every one stipulated that Nujeib-ul-Dowlah must also be satisfied to do so, otherwise they could not consent. Accordingly the *Navab* Shuja-ul-Dowlah sent me to talk over the matter with Nujeib-ul-Dowlah, and to obtain his consent. I therefore waited upon him, and, in a long private conference, I explained every thing that had passed, and urged every argument to persuade him to come into the views of the other chiefs; to which he replied in nearly the following words:—"Shuja-ul-Dowlah is the son of a man whom I look up to as my superior; and I consider him also in the same light; but, at the same time, he is young

"and unacquainted with the world: he does not see to
"the bottom of things. This business is a deception:
"when an enemy is weak and distressed, there is no
"concession that he will not make, and, in the way of
"negotiation, will swear to any thing; but oaths are
"not chains, they are only words. After reducing an
"enemy to this extremity, if you let him escape, do
"you think he will not seize the first opportunity to
"recover his lost honour and power? At present we
"may be said to have the whole *Decan* at our mercy;
"when can we hope for another juncture so favour-
"able? By one effort we get this thorn out of our sides
"for ever.—Let the *Navab* have a little patience; I
"will wait upon him myself, and consult what is best
"to be done."

After this answer, I left NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and returned to my master, to whom I repeated all that had passed, assuring him that NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH would never be brought to agree to any terms of pacification.

As soon as I had left NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, though it was the middle of the night, he went immediately to the SHAH, and informed him of what had passed. "All the chiefs (said he) are inclined to make peace "with the *Mahrattas*, but I think it by no means ad-"viseable. The *Mahrattas* are the thorn of *Hindo-"stan;* if they were out of the way, this empire might "be your Majesty's whenever you should please. Do "as seems fit to yourself. For my own part, I am a "soldier of fortune, and can make terms with whatever "party may prevail."

The SHAH replied, "You say truly: I approve of "your counsel, and will not listen to any thing in op-"position to it. SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH is young and "inexperienced, and the *Mahrattas* are a crafty race,

"on whose pretended penitence no reliance is to be
"placed. I from the beginning made you the ma-
"nager of this affair; act as seems best to yourself: in
"my situation I must hear every one, but I will not
"do any thing against your advice."

Next day NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH came to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's tent, where they consulted till late at night, but without coming to any conclusion.

By this time the distresses in the BHOW's camp were so great, that the troops plundered the town of *Paniput* for grain; but such a scanty supply gave no relief to the wants of such multitudes. At length the chiefs and soldiers, in a body, surrounded the BHOW's tent, and said to him, "It is now two days that we have not "had any thing to eat; do not let us perish in this "misery; let us make one spirited effort against the "enemy, and whatever is our destiny, that will hap-"pen." The BHOW replied, that he was of the same mind, and was ready to abide by whatever they should resolve upon. At length it was determined to march out of the lines an hour before day-break, and, placing the artillery in front, to proceed to the attack of the enemy. They all swore to fight to the last extremity; and each person took a *betel*-leaf in the presence of his fellows, in confirmation of this engagement, as is the custom among the *Hindoos*.

In this last extremity, the BHOW wrote me a short note with his own hand, which he sent by one of his most confidential servants. The words of the note were these:—

"The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold
"another drop. If any thing can be done, do it, or

"else anſwer me plainly at once: hereafter there
"will be no time for writing or ſpeaking."

This note arrived about three in the morning, at which time I was with the *Navab*. As ſoon as I had read it, I informed his Excellency of its contents, and called in the man who brought it; who told the *Navab* all that had happened in the *Mahratta* camp. While he was doing this, the *Navab's* harcarrahs brought word, that the *Mahrattas* were coming out of their lines, the artillery in front, and the troops following cloſe behind.

Immediately on hearing this, his Excellency went to the SHAH's tent, and deſired the eunuchs to wake his Majeſty that moment, as he had ſome urgent buſineſs with him.

The SHAH came out directly, and inquired what news: the *Navab* replied, that there was no time for explanation, but deſired his Majeſty to mount his horſe, and order the army to get under arms. The SHAH accordingly mounted one of his horſes, which were always ready ſaddled at the tent-door, and, in the dreſs he then had on, rode half a coſs in front of his camp, ordering the troops under arms as he went along.

He enquired of the *Navab* from whom he had his intelligence; and, he mentioning my name, the SHAH immediately diſpatched one on a poſt-camel to bring me. After I had made my obeiſance, he aſked me the particulars of the news. I replied, that the *Mahrattas* had quitted their lines, and would attack his army as ſoon as it ſhould be light. Juſt at this time ſome *Durrany* horſemen paſſed by, with their horſes loaded with plunder, which they ſaid they had taken in the *Mahratta*

ratta camp; and added, that the *Mahrattas* were running away. The SHAH looked at me, and asked me what I said to that? I replied, that a very short time would prove the truth or falsehood of my report. While I was speaking, the *Mahrattas*, having advanced about a coss and a half from their lines, and got their cannon drawn up in a line, all at once gave a general discharge of them.

Upon hearing this, the SHAH, who was sitting upon his horse, smoking a *Persian Kallian*, gave it to his servant, and, with great calmness, said to the *Navab*, "Your servant's news is very true, I see." He immediately sent for the Grand *Vizier* and SHAH PUSSUND KHAN, who came accordingly: he ordered SHAH PUSSUND KHAN to take post, with his division, on the left of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and consequently of the whole line; the Grand *Vizier* to take post with his division in the centre of the line; and BERKHORDAR KHAN, with some other chiefs, with their troops, on the right of HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN; and AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH, consequently of the whole line. When this was done, he ordered the trumpets and other instruments to sound to battle.

By this time objects began to be discernible; and we could perceive the colours of the *Mahratta* line advancing slowly and regularly, with their artillery in front. The SHAH rode along the front of the line, and examined the order of all the divisions. He then took post, where his little tent was pitched, in front of his camp, but in the rear of his present line of battle, and gave orders for the attack to begin.

The *Mahratta* army faced toward the eastward, and their order was as follows, reckoning from the left flank of their line:

IBRAHIM

IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE,	Front.
AMAJEE GUICKWAR,	
SHU DEO PATEIL,	
The BHOW, with BISWAS ROW and the houſehold troops,	
JESWONT ROW POWAR,	
SHUMSHERE BEHADER,	
MULHAR ROW,	
JUNKOOJEE SINDIA, &c.	

The whole artillery, *ſhuternals*, &c. were drawn up in front of the line.

The *Muſſulman* army faced toward the weſtward, and was drawn up as follows, reckoning alſo from the left flank of their line:

SHAH PUSSUND KHAN,	Front.
NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH,	
SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH,	
The Grand *Vizier* SHAW VULLI KHAN,	
AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH,	
HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN,	
DOONDY KHAN,	
AMIR BEG KHAN, and other *Perſian Moghols*,	
BERKHORDAR KHAN,	

All the artillery and rockets were in front of the line. Behind them were the camels, mounted by the muſketeers carrying *Zumburucks*, ſupported by a body of *Perſian* muſketeers.

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The two armies facing each other rather obliquely, the divifions of BERKHORDAR KHAN, AMIR BEG, and DOONDY KHAN, were very near to that of IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE. The plan of the battle here annexed will explain this more clearly than any defcription in writing can do.

On the 7th of *January*, 1761, foon after fun-rife, the cannon, mufketry, and rockets, began to play without intermiffion, yet our army fuffered but little by them; for the armies continuing to advance towards each other, the *Mahratta* guns being very large and heavy, and their level not eafily altered, their fhot foon began to pafs over our troops, and fell a mile in the rear. On our fide, the cannon fired but little, except from the Grand *Vizier's* divifion.

As the armies were advancing towards each other, IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE rode up to the BHOW, and, after faluting him, he faid, "You have long been "difpleafed with me, for infifting on the regular "monthly pay for my people; this month your trea-"fure was plundered, and we have not received any "pay at all; but never mind that; this day I will "convince you that we have not been paid fo long "without meriting it."—He immediately fpurred his horfe, and returning to his divifion, he ordered the ftandards to be advanced, and taking a colour in his own hand, he directed the cannon and mufketry of his divifion to ceafe firing; then leaving two battalions oppofed to BERKHORDAR KHAN and AMIR KHAN'S divifion, to prevent their taking him in flank, he advanced with feven battalions to attack DOONDY KHAN and RAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN'S divifion with fixed bayonets. The *Rohillas* received the charge with great refolution; and the action was fo clofe, that they fought hand to hand. Near eight thoufand *Rohillas* were killed or wounded, and the attack

tack became ſo hard upon them, that but few of the people remained with their chiefs; not above five hundred, or at moſt a thouſand, with each, after the violence of the firſt charge.

HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN being indiſpoſed, was in his *palankin*, and ſeeing the deſperate ſtate of affairs, he ordered his people to carry him to DOONDY KHAN, that he might expire in his preſence: while on the other hand, DOONDY KHAN was giving orders to ſearch for HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN; for ſo great was the confuſion, that no one knew where another was. The two battalions left to oppoſe the SHAH's flank diviſions, as mentioned above, exerted themſelves very much, and repulſed the *Durranies* as often as they attempted to advance. In this action, which laſted three hours, ſix of IBRAHIM KHAN's battalions were almoſt entirely ruined, and he himſelf wounded in ſeveral places, with ſpears, and with a muſket-ball. AMAJEE GUICKWAR, whoſe diviſion ſupported IBRAHIM KHAN, behaved very well, and was himſelf wounded in ſeveral places.

In the centre of the line, the BHOW, with BISWAS ROW, and the houſehold troops, charged the diviſion of the Grand *Vizier*. The *Mahrattas* broke through a line of ten thouſand horſe, ſeven thouſand *Perſian* muſketeers, and one thouſand camels with *Zumburucks* upon them, killing and wounding about three thouſand of them. Among the killed was ATTAI KHAN, the Grand *Vizier's* nephew, who had gained ſo much honour by the defeat of GOBIND PUNDIT. The diviſion gave ground a little, but the Grand *Vizier* himſelf ſtood firm, with three or four hundred horſe, and fifty *Zumburuck* camels: he himſelf, in complete armour, diſmounted, to fight on foot.

The *Navab* SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, whoſe diviſion was next, could not ſee what was going on, on account

count of the duſt; but finding the ſound of men and horſes in that quarter ſuddenly diminiſh, he ſent me to examine into the cauſe. I found the Grand *Vizier* in an agony of rage and deſpair, reproaching his men for quitting him. "Our country is far off, my "friends," ſaid he, "whither do you fly?" But no one regarded his orders or exhortations. Seeing me, he ſaid, "Ride to my ſon SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, and "tell him, that if he does not ſupport me immedi-"ately, I muſt periſh." I returned with this meſſage to the *Navab*, who ſaid that the enemy being ſo near, and likely to charge his diviſion, the worſt conſequences might follow to the whole army if he made any movement at that time, which might enable the enemy to paſs through the line.

The *Navab's* diviſion conſiſted of only two thouſand horſe, one thouſand muſketeers, with twenty pieces of cannon, and ſome ſwivels: but they ſtood in cloſe order, and ſhowed ſo good a countenance, that the enemy made no attempt upon it. Once or twice they advanced pretty near, and ſeemed as if they would charge us; but they did not.

On the left of the *Navab's* diviſion was that of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, who had about eight thouſand *Rohilla* infantry with him, and near ſix thouſand horſe. They advanced ſlowly under cover of a kind of breaſtworks of ſand, which were thrown up by a great number of *Bildars*, who were with them, and who, having finiſhed one, advanced the diſtance of half a muſket-ſhot in front of that, under cover of their own people, and threw up another; to which the troops then advanced, while a third was thrown up in the ſame manner. They had got on above a coſs in this method, and were within a long muſket-ſhot of the enemy, NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH ſaying, "That it behoved him to exert "himſelf, as he was the perſon moſt deeply intereſt-

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" ed in the event of that day, the reſt being only as " viſitors:" and, to ſay the truth, he was a man of ſurpriſing activity and ability.

He was oppoſed by JUNKOOJEE *Sindea*, and between them there was a mortal enmity. As the *Rohillas* had a great number of rockets with them, they fired volleys of two thouſand at a time, which not only terrified the horſes by their dreadful noiſe, but did ſo much execution alſo, that the enemy could not advance to charge them. Beſides which, the diviſion of SHAH PUSSUND KHAN was on the right flank of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH; and that *Durrany* chief, being a brave and experienced officer, advanced in ſuch good order, that the *Mahrattas* could make no impreſſion on it.

The action continued in nearly this ſtate from morning till noon; and though we ſuffered leaſt in point of killed and wounded, yet, upon the whole, the *Mahrattas* ſeemed to have the advantage.

About noon, the SHAH received advice that the *Rohillas* and the Grand *Vizier's* diviſions had the worſt of the engagement; upon which he ſent for the *Neſuckchees*, (a corps of horſe, with particular arms and dreſs, who are always employed in carrying and executing the SHAH's immediate commands,) and two thouſand of them being aſſembled, he ſent five hundred of them to his own camp, to drive out by force all armed people whom they ſhould find there, that they might aſſiſt in the action; and the remaining one thouſand five hundred, he ordered to meet the fugitives from the battle, and to kill every man who ſhould refuſe to return to the charge. This order they executed ſo effectually, that, after killing a few, they compelled ſeven or eight thouſand men to return to the field. Some were alſo found in the camp, and ſome the SHAH ſent from the reſerve which was with

with him. Of these, he sent four thousand to cover the right flank; and about ten thousand were sent to the support of the Grand *Vizier*, with orders to charge the enemy sword in hand, in close order, and at full gallop. At the same time he gave directions to SHAH PUSSUND KHAN, and NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, that, as often as the Grand *Vizier* should charge the enemy, those two chiefs should at the same time attack them in flank.

About one o'clock these troops joined the Grand *Vizier*, who immediately mounted his horse, and charged the body of the *Mahratta* army, where the BHOW commanded in person: SHAH PUSSUND KHAN, and NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, took them in flank at the same time, which produced a terrible effect.

This close and violent attack lasted for near an hour, during which time they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers. Between two and three o'clock, BISWAS ROW was wounded, and dismounted from his horse; which being reported to the BHOW, he ordered them to take him up, and place him upon his elephant. The BHOW himself continued the action near half an hour longer on horseback, at the head of his men; when all at once, as if by enchantment, the whole *Mahratta* army turned their backs, and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead. The instant they gave way, the victors pursued them with the utmost fury; and, as they gave no quarter, the slaughter is scarcely to be conceived, the pursuit continuing for ten or twelve coss in every direction in which they fled.

Of every description of people, men, women, and children, there were said to be five hundred thousand souls in the *Mahratta* camp, of whom the greatest part

part were killed or taken prisoners: and of those who escaped from the field of battle, and the pursuit, many were destroyed by the *Zemindars* of the country. ANTAJEE MANKEESER, a chief of rank, was cut off by the *Zemindars* of *Ferocknagur*.

The plunder found in the *Mahratta* camp was prodigiously great: you might see one of our horsemen carrying off eight or ten camels loaded with valuable effects: horses were driven away in flocks like sheep: and great numbers of elephants were also taken.

Near forty thousand prisoners were taken alive; of which six or seven thousand took shelter in the camp of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, who posted his own people to protect them from the cruelty of the *Durranies*: but the unhappy prisoners who fell in the hands of the latter, were most of them murdered in cold blood, the *Durranies* saying in jest, that, when they left their own country, their mothers, sisters, and wives, desired that, whenever they should defeat the unbelievers, they would kill a few of them on their account, that they also might possess a *merit in the sight of* GOD. In this manner thousands were destroyed, so that in the *Durrany* camp (with an exception of the SHAH, and his principal officers) every tent had heads piled up before the door of it.

As soon as the battle was over, all the chief officers presented their *Nezzurs* of congratulation to the SHAH; and his majesty, having taken a slight view of the field of battle, returned to his tent, as all the other commanders did to theirs, leaving the inferior officers, and private soldiers, to continue the plunder and pursuit at their own discretion.

Towards

Towards morning, ſome of BERKHORDAR KHAN'S *Durranies* having found the body of BISWAS ROW, on his elephant, after taking the elephant and jewels, brought the body to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, who gave them two thouſand rupees for it, and ordered that it ſhould be taken care of. IBRAHIM KHAN GARDEE, though ſeverely wounded, had been taken alive by SHUJA KOULY KHAN, one of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH'S own people; which being reported to his Excellency, he ordered him to be carefully concealed, and his wounds to be dreſſed.

The SHAH next day ordered SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH to ſend the body of BISWAS ROW for him to look at; which he accordingly did. The whole camp, great and ſmall, were aſſembled round the SHAH'S tent to ſee it; and every one was in admiration of the beauty of its appearance: it was not disfigured by death, but looked rather like a perſon who ſleeps: he had one wound with a ſword on the back of his neck, and a ſlight one with an arrow over his left eye, but there was no blood diſcoverable on any part of his remaining clothes. Upon ſight of this body, many of the *Durranies* aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, ſaying, "This is the body of the king of the unbeliev-"ers; we will have it dried and ſtuffed, to carry back "to *Kabul*." Accordingly, it was carried to the quarter of BERKHORDAR KHAN, and depoſited near the tent of MOODY LOL, a *Kettery* by caſt, who was his *Dewan*.

As ſoon as SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH heard of this, he waited upon the SHAH, and joining with the Grand *Vizier*, repreſented to his majeſty, "That enmity "ſhould be limited to the life of our enemy; and it "is always the cuſtom of *Hindoſtan*, that after a vic-"tory, the bodies of the chiefs, of whatever race or "tribe, are given up, that they may receive their

"proper

"proper obsequies, according to the rules of their
"particular religion: such conduct, they said, does
"honour to the victors, but an opposite one disgraces
"them. Your majesty is only here for a time; but
"SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, and the other *Hindostany* chiefs,
"are the fixed residents of this country, and may
"have future transactions with the *Mahrattas*, when
"their conduct on the present occasion will be remem-
"bered; therefore let the body be given up to them,
"that they may act as is customary here."

This matter remained in agitation for near two days, NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, and, indeed, all the *Hindostany* chiefs, joining in the same request. I was also sent on this account, accompanied by MEIG RAJ, the *Vakeel* of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, to the tents of BERKHORDAR KHAN and MOOTY LOL. A second time I went alone; when MOOTY LOL asked me if I came on that business only, or would undertake any thing further. I said, "For any thing that he chose to "communicate." Accordingly, he carried me privately into two inner tents: in one I found *Raja* BABOO PUNDIT, the BHOW's *Vakeel*, who was wounded, with whom I conversed for some time; after which I went into the other tent, where ROW JUNKOOJEE *Sindia* was sitting; he was wounded with a ball, and with a spear, in the arm, which he wore in a sling, and was a youth about twenty years of age. Upon seeing me, he hung down his head; on observing which, I said to him, "Why do you do so, Sir? "Whatever could be expected from human valour "and exertion, you have done; and the deeds of that "day will live for ever in the memory of mankind." Upon this, lifting up his head, he said, "True, no "one can contend with destiny. I wish I had died "in the field of battle; but it was my fate to be "brought hither. These people now require ransom "from me, nor would it be difficult for me to pay

"what they demand, but it is impoſſible for me to "get it here at this time. You were a friend of my "father's, and there was always friendſhip between "my family and the *Navab's*, and my father did them "conſiderable ſervices; if his Excellency will pay "the money required for my releaſe, it is an obliga-"tion that I ſhall never forget." I aſſured him that the *Navab* would not be backward, and deſired to know how much was required. MOOTY LOL ſaid, ſeven lacks of rupees was the ſum mentioned, but that it might probably be ſettled for leſs. I immediately returned to the *Navab*, whom I found ſitting with NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH: I told him all that had paſſed reſpecting the buſineſs he ſent me upon; but as I well knew the enmity which NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH bore to the family and perſon of JUNKOOJEE, and thought that, from his good intelligence, he might have ſome intimation that JUNKOOJEE was taken alive, I thought it was beſt to avoid ſaying any thing about him to the *Navab* at that time, and went away to another part of the tent: but NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, who had obſerved me, ſaid to the *Navab*, "From the countenance of "CASI RAJA, I perceive that he has ſomething elſe "to ſay which my preſence prevents." SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH replied, that there were no ſecrets between them two; and immediately calling me, made me ſwear by the *Ganges*, to ſpeak all that I ſhould have done if NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH had not been there; which being thus compelled to do, I did. NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH, who was maſter of the moſt profound diſſimulation, ſaid, that it was highly proper, and becoming great men, to relieve their enemies under ſuch circumſtances; he therefore begged that SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH would ſettle the ranſom of JUNKOOJEE, and that he himſelf would pay half of it. This was his profeſſion; and ſoon after taking leave, he went to the Grand *Vizier*, and informed him of all the particulars.

As, on one hand, Nujeib-ul-Dowlah wiſhed to exterminate the family of *Sindea*, the Grand *Vizier* alſo was an enemy to Berkhordar Khan, whom he hoped to injure by diſcovering this ſecret negociation: they therefore went immediately together to the Shah, and laid the affair before him. His Majeſty ſent for Berkhordar Khan, and queſtioned him about having concealed Junkoojee; but he poſitively denied any knowledge of it. The Grand *Vizier* then ſent for me to prove the fact; but even after that, Berkhordar Khan perſiſted to deny it. Upon which, the Shah ordered his *Neſuckchees* to ſearch the tents of that chief. Thus driven to extremity, Berkhordar Khan immediately diſpatched orders to his people to put both the priſoners to death, and bury them privately, before thoſe ſent by the Shah ſhould arrive to look for them, which was done accordingly, and thus thoſe unhappy people loſt their lives.

Ibrahim Khan Gardee had hitherto remained in Shuja-ul-Dowlah's camp, and it was his Excellency's intention to ſend him privately to *Lucknow;* but ſome of the Shah's people getting information of this, informed his Majeſty of it, who ſent for his Excellency, and queſtioned him on the ſubject. He at firſt denied it; but at length the Shah, by dint of perſuaſion and flattery, got him to confeſs it. Immediately (as had been pre-concerted) a great number of *Durranies* ſurrounded the Shah's tent, crying out, "Ibrahim Khan is our greateſt enemy, and has been "the deſtroyer of multitudes of our tribe; give him "up to us, or let us know who is his protector, that "we may attack him." Shuja-ul-Dowlah put his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, "Here he is:" and things were very near coming to extremity, when the Grand *Vizier* interfered, and taking Shuja-ul-Dowlah aſide, he entreated him to conſign Ibrahim Khan to his care for one week, promiſing to reſtore him ſafe at the end of that time. The *Navab* expreſſed ſome

 apprehenſion

apprehenſion of intended treachery; but the Grand *Vizier* ſwearing on the *Koran* that no harm ſhould befal the priſoner, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH ſent for IBRAHIM KHAN, and delivered him into the Grand *Vizier's* hands.

The SHAH ordered him to be brought into his preſence, and inſultingly aſked him, "how a man of his "courage came to be in ſuch a condition?" He anſwered, "that no man could command his deſtiny; "that his maſter was killed, and himſelf wounded, "and priſoner; but that, if he ſurvived, and his Ma-"jeſty would employ him in his ſervice, he was ready "to ſhew the ſame zeal for him as he had done for "the BHOW." The SHAH gave him back in charge to the Grand *Vizier*, where he was treated with the greateſt cruelty; and, as it is ſaid, they ordered poiſon to be applied to his wounds, ſo that he died the ſeventh day after.

The day after the battle, the SHAH, ſuperbly dreſſed, rode round the field of battle, where he found thirty-two heaps of the ſlain, of different numbers, moſt of them killed near each other, as they had fought: beſides theſe, the ditch of the BHOW's camp, and the jungles all round the neighbourhood of *Paniput*, were filled with bodies. The SHAH entered the town of *Paniput*, and, after viſiting the ſhrine of BOO ALY KALINDER, he returned to his tents.

SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH took ſome hundreds of *Biſhties* with him to the field of battle, to waſh the bodies, and look for thoſe of the chiefs, eſpecially for that of the BHOW; and carried the *Mahratta Vakeels*, SINAPUR PUNDIT, and GUNNEISH PUNDIT, and other priſoners, who knew the perſons of all the chiefs, to aſſiſt him in finding them out. Accordingly they found the bodies of JESWUNT ROW POWAR, and the ſon of PALA JADOO, and many others.

 The

The second day, after the strictest search had been made for the body of the BHOW, advice was brought that a body was lying about fifteen coss from the field of battle, which appeared to be that of a chief: SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH immediately went to the place, and had the body washed: some pearls of the value of three or four hundred rupees each, being found near the body, confirmed the belief of its being that of a person of rank. These pearls the *Navab* gave to SINADUR PUNDIT, the *Mahratta Vakeel*, who, as well as the rest of the *Mahrattas* who came to find out the bodies, burst into tears, and declared this to be the body of the BHOW, which they discovered by several natural marks, which the BHOW was known to have about him. First, a black spot about the size of a rupee on one of his thighs; secondly, a scar in his back, where he had been wounded with a *Kuttar* by MAZUFFER KHAN; and thirdly, in his foot the fortunate lines, called by the astrologers, *Puddum Mutch*. The body was that of a young man about thirty-five years old, and strongly made; and, as it was known that the BHOW every day made one thousand two hundred prostrations before the sun, so were there the marks of such a practice on the knees and hands of this corpse.

While we were thus employed, I observed one of the *Durranies*, who stood at a distance and laughed; which I remarked to the *Navab*, and told him, that perhaps that man might know something respecting the body. The *Navab* took him aside, and questioned him; to which he answered, "I saw this person several times during the battle; he was extremely well "mounted, and, in the course of the action, two of his "horses were killed under him; at last he received "several wounds, and was dismounted from his third "horse. About this time the *Mahratta* army fled on "all sides, yet this person seemed still to preserve his "presence of mind. He was well dressed, and had

I "many

" many jewels on, and he retired with a short spear
" in his hand, and with a resolute aspect. I and
" some others pursued him for the sake of his jewels,
" and, having surrounded him, we asked him if he was
" some chief, or the BHOW himself: and told him not
" to be afraid, for we would do him no harm, but
" carry him wherever he desired. As he made no
" reply, one of my companions grew angry, and
" wounded him with a spear, which he returned; upon
" which we killed him, and cut off his head, but not
" without his wounding two or three of us: the head
" another person has got." This last circumstance
was not true, for the head was afterwards found with
this very man.

The *Navab* carried the body, and that of SUNTAJEE NAJAH, (which had forty cuts of swords upon it,) to the camp, upon two elephants, and informed the SHAH of all the circumstances.

The SHAH, in compliment to SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, gave orders that these two bodies, together with the body of BISWAS ROW, should be burnt, according to the custom of their casts; and sent twenty of his *Nesuckchees* to attend, and prevent the *Durranies* from giving any interruption to the ceremony. His Excellency gave the bodies in charge to me, and told me that I was of the same country and tribe, and therefore he desired that I would burn them with the proper ceremonials; and he sent *Rajah* ANUFGHIRE with the *Nesuckchees* to attend me. Accordingly I carried them to a spot between the SHAH's camp and the *Navab's*; and, having washed them with *Ganges* water, and perfumed them with sandal wood, I burnt them.

About two thousand of the fugitives from the BHOW's camp, who had escaped from slaughter by SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's protection, were present on this occasion, and all were of opinion that the headless

body was the BHOW's; but ſtill, the head not having been ſeen, there was ſome room for doubt. In the evening, after burning the bodies, we returned to camp. At night SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH went to the Grand *Vizier*, and told him what the *Durrany* had ſaid reſpecting the head. The *Vizier* ſent for the *Durrany*, who belonged to BERKHORDAR KHAN, and told him not to fear being obliged to give up his plunder, that he ſhould keep it all if he would confeſs where the head was. Upon this the *Durrany* brought it wrapped up in a cloth, and threw it down before the Grand *Vizier*. *Rajah* BABOO PUNDIT, the *Mahratta Vakeel*, being ſent for to look at the head, immediately ſaid, "This "is the head of the BHOW: he was my maſter, and the "care of this is a ſacred duty to me: let me beg that "this head may be given to me, and that I may be "permitted to burn it, according to the ceremonial of "our religion." The Grand *Vizier* ſmiled at this requeſt, and gave the head to him, at the ſame time ſending ſome *Neſuckchees* with him for his protection. *Rajah* BABOO PUNDIT carried the head on the outſide of the camp, and burnt it; after which no man doubted that the BHOW was actually killed. And this concludes all that I perſonally know reſpecting this battle, and the death of the BHOW.

I afterwards learned from other parts of the country, that MULHAR ROW, AMAJEE GUICKWAR, BETAL SHU DEO, and ſome other chiefs, fled from the battle, and eſcaped. One of the BHOW's wives eſcaped on horſeback, and got ſafe to *Deig*, where *Rajah* SURJA MUL received her with great reſpect, gave her money, clothes, and a *palankin*, and ſent her with an eſcort to *Janſy*, whence ſhe got ſafe to the *Decan*.

SHUMSHERE BEHADER got to *Deig*, wounded. SURJA MUL had his wounds taken the greateſt care of, but he died ſoon after; and his tomb is at *Deig*.

The

The fifth day after the battle, the SHAH returned to *Dehly*, which he reached in four marches. He wiſhed to ſeize on the empire of *Hindoſtan;* but GOD diſapproved of this deſign.

After our return to *Dehly*, SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH ſent all the fugitives from the *Mahratta* camp, who had taken ſhelter with him, under a guard of his own troops, to the boundary of the *Jauts* dominions, where they were ſafe.

Eight days after this, by the pleaſure of GOD, all the *Durranies* mutinied in a body, and inſiſted on the diſcharge of their arrears for the two years paſt, and alſo that they ſhould immediately march back to *Kabul*. This confuſion laſted for ſome days, during which time the *Durranies* quarrelled with SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's people, and threatened to attack his camp. His Excellency, highly provoked at this, went to the Grand *Vizier*, and aſked him, "If that "was the treatment he was to experience after all "the fine promiſes that had been made to him?" The *Vizier* aſſured him, that both the SHAH and himſelf had the higheſt reſpect and attention for his Excellency; but that the *Durranies* were out of all power of controul. "Then, (ſaid the *Navab*,) I ſee the value of your promiſe;" and got up to depart. The *Vizier* embraced him, ſaying, "We ſhall meet again;" but his Excellency made no reply.

As ſoon as he returned to his own camp, he conſulted with his friends; and all agreed that it was no longer adviſeable to remain with the SHAH's army. Accordingly in the afternoon he decamped, and marched fifteen coſs that night; and in this manner, by five forced marches, he got to *Mindy Gaut*, on the *Ganges*. He was apprehenſive that the SHAH might be ſo provoked at the abruptneſs of his departure, as to order him to be purſued; but no ſuch ſtep was taken;

taken; and the *Navab* crossed the *Ganges*, and returned with safety into his own dominions.

After this, we learned from the news-writers, the SHAH finding it impossible to pacify his army by any other means, was obliged to give up his views in *Hindostan*, and to return to *Kabul;* having received above forty lacks of rupees from NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH for the assistance which he had given him.

Though this narrative is written from memory, and long since the events happened, I do not believe that I have omitted any circumstance of importance; and those who reflect upon these transactions, will believe that Providence made use of AHMED SHAH DURRANY, to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the *Mahrattas;* for in the eyes of GOD pride is criminal.

NOTES.

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P. 99. *children)* This is a compliment very common among eastern nations; and, like most of their other compliments, means nothing at all.

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P. 106. *Págáh)* The word *Pàgàh* has the same signification among the *Mahrattas*, as *Risàlah* has among the *Persians* and *Moguls;* and, being indefinite in the number of troops of which it consists, may be rendered pretty fairly by our word *brigade.* I have known it applied to a command of three hundred horse; and I have also known it used in the same sense, to describe one of some thousands of horse and foot with artillery.

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tars. They are mounted on ſmall but hardy horſes, and ſerve for plunder only. The chiefs under whom they engage, enter into certain articles of agreement with the chief commanding the *Mahratta* army, reſpecting the diviſion of plunder; and the *Pindarries* alſo have particular conditions, on which they ſerve under their chiefs. Their principal uſe is in laying waſte an enemy's country, or their own when invaded; which they do with great alacrity and effect; alſo in attacking the baggage and camp-followers of an enemy's army. Another thing, which makes them extremely uſeful to their own army, is, that every *Pindarry* has a pair of large bags on his ſaddle, which, after his day's excurſion, he in the evening brings into camp, filled with wheat, barley, rice, or ſome other uſeful grain, plundered from the villages, which is ſold in the bazar for ſomething below the market price; ſo that ten thouſand *Pindarries* are at leaſt as uſeful to the ſupply of their own army as an equal number of *Bunneahs*, with carriage-bullocks, would be.

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disbelieve it. Even in *English* camps in *India*, three followers to each fighting man, is considered as a moderate number.

P. 124. *merit)* This is looked upon as highly beneficial to the souls of the faithful; and almost a certain passport to paradise.

P. 127. *Ganges)* This is one of the many instances among this people, where absurd superstition is brought in excuse of lax morality. What the author adverts to is very common, both among *Hindoos* and *Mussulmans*. It is rather an adjuration than any thing that might reasonably be deemed obligatory (even though its object were innocent) on the person on whom it is involuntarily imposed; and is usually practised to make men betray secrets which they are bound in honour to conceal. He who wishes to discover the secret, says, "I adjure you by the *Ganges*, or the *Koran*, "or your son's head." This the other pretends to consider a sufficient compulsion for him to betray his trust: I say pretends, because where the secret regards their own interest or safety, they are very far from allowing an equal force to the adjuration.

P. 129. *cruelty)* The cause of this extraordinary enmity to IBRAHIM KHAN, was his having fought on the side of the infidels against the true believers.

P. 132. *killed)* Notwithstanding all this, however, in the year 1779, a man appeared, who called himself the BHOW, and from many circumstances obtained credit for some time.

He came first to *Etaiva*, and made himself known to LALA BALGOBIND, a merchant with whom the BHOW had been on terms of friendship. BALGOBIND was so far persuaded of his identity, that he treated and entertained him with great respect: but, though he brought many circumstantial proofs that he was the BHOW, and his age, person, and several marks about his body, strongly supported that belief, still there appeared a difference in temper and manner, which excited doubt. BALGOBIND having expressed his wish to be satisfied respecting this, the person replied, that after the battle and pursuit, from which he escaped alive, though wounded, he fled to the hills of *Kámáoun*, where he lived five years among a fraternity of *Fakeers*, conforming to all their austerities; which must necessarily have made a great change in his manners. That after this, he had resided some time in *Rohilcund*, and had travelled to many places in the disguise of a *Byraghy Fakeer*. "At length," said he, "I am arrived here, and we "must devise the best method for me to declare myself." BALGOBIND told him, that, as there were many *Mahrattas* at *Benares* to whom the BHOW was known, he had better first shew himself there. Accordingly he went to *Chutterkote*, in *Bondelcund*, from whence he wrote (as the BHOW) to MOORJEE BHUT, RAMCHUND GOTKUR, and GUNNEISH BHUT, at *Benares*; informing them that he was arrived at *Chutterkote*, and desiring them to come to him immediately.

Upon receipt of this letter, MOORJEE BHUT, the son of RAMCHUND [illegible]KUR, and DOONDOO BHUT, who was an old servant of the BHOW, [illegible] out for *Chatterkote*, where they immediately waited upon the supposed BHOW, and had a long conference with him; after which they retired

retired to a houfe in the town. Next day they waited upon him again, when, in the courfe of the converfation, the fuppofed BHOW told them, that as he had left many lacks of rupees, as a depofit with them before the battle of *Paniput*, he defired that they would furnifh him with fome money, to defray the expenfe of the rank which he meant to affert. On this they immediately got up, and went away; and from that time, they began to circulate a report that this was not the BHOW, but an impoftor. When he heard this, he reproached them with ingratitude, and told them that he would come to *Benares*, and eftablifh his claims upon them: they, however, perfifted to deny them, and returned to *Benares*. The fuppofed BHOW followed them, and arriving at *Benares*, went to refide at the houfe of DOONDOO BHUT, who all along acknowledged him. Here feveral *Mahrattas*, and other confiderable inhabitants of that town, went to fee him, and were fo far convinced of his identity, that they gave and lent him large fums of money. Several of the *Mahrattas* alfo ate with him, in proof of their belief of his ftory. But four or five of the principal merchants, whom he had afferted to be his debtors, would not vifit him; at which he was fo much provoked, that he fent word to MOORJEE BHUT, RAMCHUNDER GOTKUR, and GUNNEISH BHUT, either to pay him what they owed him, by fair means, or that he would compel them by force: at the fame time, he began to raife fome troops in the town, and foon got together fome hundreds of the kind of foldiery procurable in every town of *Hindoftan*. He alfo got a palkey, and two or three horfes for himfelf, with which cavalcade, he ufed to come into the town, and pafs in terror round the houfes of his debtors, who were much alarmed left he fhould feize upon them, and carry them off.

Mr. THOMAS GRAHAM, who at this time was refident on the part of the Company at *Benares*, hearing of thefe proceedings, inquired of feveral perfons of character, whether, in their opinion, this man was the BHOW or not; who all replied that he certainly was an impoftor. While this inquiry was going on, it was difcovered that DOONDOO BHUT, a confidential friend of the BHOW, (as has been faid before,) was carrying on fome fecret negotiation with RAJA CHEYT SING, who had fent him money at different times. Mr. GRAHAM was led to believe, from many circumftances, that one object of this negotiation was to have him deftroyed, under cover of fome popular infurrection; the *Raja* having at that time conceived a jealoufy of him, on account of his knowledge in the affairs of that diftrict, which the *Raja* wifhed as much as poffible to conceal. As the *Englifh* were then at war with the *Mahrattas*, and RAJA CHEYT SING thought to be rather diffatisfied with the government, Mr. GRAHAM was very naturally alarmed at this intelligence, and fent a meffage to the *Raja*, requefting that he would explain himfelf. In reply, RAJA CHEYT SING affured him that he was perfectly ignorant of the matter in queftion, and defired that Mr. GRAHAM would fend for the perfon himfelf, and inquire. Mr. GRAHAM accordingly did fend for him; but he peremptorily refufed to come, with expreffions of contempt for the refident's authority.

Mr. GRAHAM having advifed the *Raja* of this, and called upon him for affiftance, as the perfon in whofe hands the government of the coun-

try

try was, as to its police, the *Raja* immediately sent the *Ameer* and *Cut-wal* of *Benares* with a detachment of Sepoys, to seize upon the supposed BHOW, and confine him. They accordingly surrounded the house in which he resided, and, after some little resistance, they took him prisoner, and carried him to Mr. GRAHAM, who asked him some questions; to which his answers were not satisfactory, and rather tending to confirm the suspicions already conceived of RAJA CHEYT SING.

The supposed BHOW remained a prisoner in the Aumeins Cutcherry at *Benares*, till Mr. GRAHAM having consulted the board at *Calcutta*, received their orders to send him to *Chunarghur*, and deliver him in charge to the commanding officer there; and they at the same time directed him to inquire particularly into the truth or falsehood of his story. This person was accordingly confined at *Chunarghur*, where Mr. GRAHAM went several times, and sent for the prisoner, whom he questioned particularly respecting his whole story; the result of which was, his feeling some disposition to credit his being the BHOW, and occasionally assisting him with money. Soon after, Mr. GRAHAM went to *Calcutta*, carrying with him an agent on the part of the supposed BHOW; but in a short time after, he himself going to *Madras* as secretary to Sir EYRE COOTE, nothing was determined respecting that affair, and the unfortunate man remained a prisoner till *August*, 1781, when Mr. HASTINGS, the Governor General, came to *Benares*, and the troubles with RAJA CHEYT SING commenced. During the time of Mr. HASTINGS's residence at *Chunarghur*, he sent for the prisoner, and, after hearing his story, ordered him to be released. The man returned to *Benares*, where he died soon after.

Among others, KASSI RAJH PUNDIT, the author of this book, being at *Benares*, when the supposed BHOW resided there, went to see him, and said (as BALGOBIND had done) that the person exactly resembled the real BHOW, and that the marks upon him (the same as mentioned in his narrative of the battle of *Paniput*) exactly corresponded, but that the manner and temper were different.

Thus the affair stands at present, a subject for unbounded conjectures; and the *Benares* BHOW will generally be classed with LAMBERT SIMNEL, PERKIN WARBECK, the *Russian* DEMETRII, and many others whom ill succes has transmitted to posterity as impostors, when better fortune, in the precarious appeal to the sword, would, perhaps, have stamped them the real much-injured heirs of their domains, restored by the hand of Heaven, to bless their subjects by the benign exercise of legitimate authority.

> "The vanquish'd rebel like a rebel dies:
> "The victor rebel plumes him on a throne."

This man had written a history of himself in the *Persian* language, which he gave to Mr. THOMAS GRAHAM, who would have indulged me with the perusal of it, but having left it behind him when he went to the coast with the late Sir EYRE COOTE, in a place not sufficiently dry, it was unfortunately destroyed by vermin.

P. 132. SHUMSHERE) This was the father of ALY BEHADER, now at *Muttra* (in 1790) with TOKOJEE HULKER.

P. 133.

P. 133: *He wished)* This is the only historical intimation that I remember to have met with of this fact, yet it is extremely probable; and I was told by people of the first authority, when I was at *Dehly*, that the connection which AHMED SHAH DURRANY formed with the house of TIMUR when he was in *Hindostan*, was with that view. He himself married a daughter of MOHAMMED SHAH, and gave a young daughter of ALUMGHIRE SANI (consequently a sister or half sister of SHAH ALUM) to his son TIMUR SHAH, who has since succeeded him in the throne of *Kabul*, &c. But his constant apprehensions on the side of *Persia*, and a disposition void of enterprise, have hitherto prevented TIMUR SHAH from attempting any thing in *Hindostan:* and, as he grows older, it is probable that his pacific conduct will still continue.

P. 134. *Navab)* It cannot fail to strike every reader, that though KASSI RAJH PUNDIT was a servant, and evidently a great admirer of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH, omitting no fair occasion of praising him, yet he says nothing of what DOWE and some others tell us of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's being highly instrumental to gaining the victory at *Paniput*, by wheeling round upon the flank of the *Mahrattas* at a critical part of the battle. On the contrary, by his very clear and minute detail, it appears that SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH's division never moved from their first post, but thought themselves fortunate in not being attacked where they were. As, independent of historical truth and his master's credit, KASSI RAJH would himself have derived some share of reputation from the gallant actions performed by that division, it does not seem likely that he would have passed such a circumstance over in silence, if it had ever happened.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN.

A. *Paniput*, with the *Mahratta* Camp.
1 Division of IBRAHIM KHAN.
2 Division of AMAJEE GUICKWAR.
3 Division of SHU DEO PATEIL.
4 Division of the BHOW and BISWAS ROW.
5 Division of JESWONT ROW.
6 Division of SHUMSHERE BEHADER.
7 Division of MULHAR ROW.
8 Division of JUNKOOGEE *Sindia*.

B. The *Durrany* Camp.
C. *The* SHAH's *advanced Tent*.
1 Division of BERKHORDAR KHAN.
2 Division of AMIR BEG, &c.
3 Division of DOONDY KHAN.
4 Division of HAFIZ RAHMUT KHAN.
5 Division of AHMED KHAN BUNGUSH.
6 Division of the Grand *Vizier*.
7 Division of SHUJA-UL-DOWLAH.
8 Division of NUJEIB-UL-DOWLAH.
9 Division of SHAH PUSSUND KHAN.
10 *Persian* Musketeers.

REMARK

REMARK by the PRESIDENT.

THE preceding narrative brings to my mind an an anecdote, which I received from BAHMEN of *Yezd*, whose father BAHRA'M had been a confidential servant of CARI'M RHA'N, and heard it at *Shíráz* from the lips of the KHA'N himself. Both CARI'M *Zend* and AHMED *Abdáli* were officers of NA'DIR *Sháh*; and, having displeased him at the same time, for a little neglect of their duty as commissaries, were put under arrest, and confined for some days in the same guard-room; but such are the vicissitudes of life in unsettled countries, that a short time after, NA'DIR was assassinated by one of his own kinsmen; CARI'M became, at length, sovereign of all *Irán*, where he reigned near thirty years universally beloved; and AHMED, having founded a new kingdom at *Cábul*, obtained the victory at *Pánipat'h*, without which the *Mahráttas* would, perhaps, at this day, have been the most powerful nation of *India*.

TO COLONEL PEARSE.

DEAR SIR,

* THE following is an extract from a paper written in 1782, and intended for a periodical mathematical publication, which I then had the care of: as it mostly relates to a subject of which no person is a better judge than yourself, if you think it worthy of a place in the *Transactions* of the *Asiatick Society*, I request you will transmit it.

I am, DEAR SIR,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

REUBEN BURROW.

Fort William,
June 10, 1787.

* No. VI.

VI.

A Specimen *of a* Method *of* reducing Practical Tables *and* Calculations *into more general and compendious Forms.*

THOUGH practices usual in one science may often be transferred with advantage to another, yet the general class of writers are so much more intent upon making books than improvements, that it very seldom happens to be the case: and, therefore, though the following hints can have little claim to ingenuity, they are certainly valuable on account of their use.

It is common in Astronomy, when there are two series of quantities, whose respective terms depend on each other, to find a general expression for an intermediate term, by what is called the method of interpolation: that is applied by Newton to *Comets*, and by De La Caille to *Eclipses*; and I shall here, as a specimen, apply it to some few examples in artillery and fortification.

Let $g+hx$ be an expression by which the quantity a is derived from m, and b from n; then if N is any term in the series m, n, the term derived from it, in the series a, b, will be $(an\text{-}bm):(n\text{-}m)+N\,(b\text{-}a):(n\text{-}m)$.

In p. 174 of Muller's Artillery, the length of a battery for two pieces of cannon is forty-feet; and for four pieces, fifty-eight feet: now if N be the number of cannon, a general expression for the length of the battery may be found, by substituting two for m, and four for n, forty for a, and fifty-eight for b, in the foregoing form, which then becomes $22+9\,N$; and therefore, for twenty pieces of cannon, the length of the battery is 202 feet.

By

By a similar substitution, if fifty men are required to make the battery for two pieces, and seventy for that of four pieces, as in MULLER's Table, then $30+10N$, is the expression for the men required for any number N of pieces in general.

Instead, therefore, of MULLER's Table, the following general one may be inserted for the number of men, tools, &c. for making a battery for any number of cannon in one night.

Number of Pieces	Length of the Battery.	Men to make the		Tools	Fascines feet			Pickets.	Mallets	Hand bils	Platforms.			Bavins.
		Battery	Fascines		10	8	6				Planks	Sleepers	Pickets.	
N	22+9N	30+10N	5+5N	40+15N	20+25N	20+14N	8N	180+305N	2+4N	8+2N	18N	5N	23N	25N

In the same manner, from having a few particular cases in other kinds of rules, general ones may be found: for example, if N be a number whose r root is required, and if x^r be its nearest complete power, then we know already, that

$$x : N \backsim x :: x : N^{\frac{1}{1}} \backsim x \text{ for the 1 root.}$$
$$\tfrac{3}{2}x^2+\tfrac{1}{2}N : N \backsim x^2 :: x : N^{\frac{1}{2}} \backsim x \text{ for the square root.}$$
$$2x^3+N : N \backsim x^3 :: x : N^{\frac{1}{3}} \backsim x \text{ for the cube root.}$$

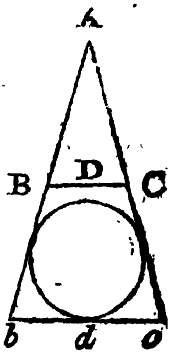
Now the general form of the three last terms is evident; and to find those of the first term, let one and two be put for m and n, and one and three halves for a and b, and by substituting in the foregoing expression; the general coefficient of x^r is found to be $(r+1)$; again if we put o and one half for a and b, we find the coefficient of N to be $(r-1)$.

If

If we uſe the ſecond and third proportions, putting two and three for m and n, and for a and b, three halves and two, in the firſt caſe, and one-half and one, in the ſecond, we get the ſame values. Hence in general;

$$\frac{r+1r}{2}x+\frac{r-1}{2}N:N\backsim x::x:N^{\frac{1}{r}}\backsim x$$

Another example of the advantage of transferring practices from one ſubject to another is this. Dr. Halley has applied a method ſimilar to that of interpolation to find the time of the tropicks: now the ſun's meridian altitude may be found in the ſame way, from altitudes taken near the meridian, and if the obſever begins a little before noon to take altitudes and the times, and continues to do ſo till a little after noon, a number of meridian altitudes may be deduced from theſe, and the latitude found much more exactly from them, than can be expected from a ſingle meridian altitude, by uſing the expreſſion for the maximum, or otherwiſe.



Analogous to theſe, are methods of generalizing properties from particular caſes: thus, if Ab Ac be tangents to a circle, and if any lines BC bc, be alſo drawn to touch the circle; then the perimeters of all the triangles A B C, will be conſtant, and alſo the difference between the ſum of Ab and Ac and the baſe bc: this property is of uncommon uſe in the conſtruction of problems, relative to plain triangles and trapeziums; and if lines be ſuppoſed drawn from the centre, or a point in the circumference of a ſphere, to each part of the figure, it will be found, that the projection of the figure upon the ſphere will have analogous properties, and that the theorem is alſo true in ſpherical triangles. By

By a little mode of conſideration, problems ſimilar to thoſe of APOLLONIUS on tangencies may be conſtruct-ed on the ſphere: for inſtance, having three circles given upon a ſphere, a fourth may be found to touch them; for their poſitions on the ſphere being given, their projections will alſo be given on a plane ſtereographically; and as a circle may be found in VIETA's method to touch them on that plane, the ſituation of that circle may be found upon the ſphere, and hence properties may be found from conſtructling the problem independent of the ſtereographic projection: and if we ſuppoſe the centre of projection to be the centre of focus, &c. of a ſpheroid, or other ſolid, innumerable properties may be found relative to their tangents, curvatures, &c. regard being had to the poſition of the plane, &c.

To give a ſpecimen of the aforeſaid method in fortification, let h (ſee pp, 22, 23, 24, and 25, of DEIDIER's *Perfect French Engineer*) repreſent the height of a wall; then, according to VAUBAN's meaſures, if five feet be the thickneſs at the top, $\frac{1}{5}h+5$ will be the thickneſs at the bottom; and, according to BELIDOR's method $\frac{1}{20}h+3,5$, will be the thickneſs at the top, and $\frac{1}{4}h+3,5$, that at the bottom. The length of the counterfort (according to VAUBAN) will be $\frac{1}{5}h+2$; alſo $\frac{1}{10}h+2$ is the thickneſs next the wall, and $(\frac{1}{3}h+4)$ the thickneſs at the other end of the counterfort. If part of the wall is gazoned, let e be the height of that part, and h that of the wall; then $\frac{1}{5}(h+e)+5$ is the thickneſs at the bottom; $\frac{1}{5}e+5$ is the thickneſs at the top; $\frac{1}{5}(h+e)+2$ is the length of the counterfort; $\frac{1}{10}(h+e)+2$ its thickneſs next the wall, and $\frac{1}{3}(\frac{1}{5}(h+e)+4$ its thickneſs fartheſt from the wall. When there are cavaliers, let c be their height in feet; then $\frac{1}{10}(2c+c+50)$ is the thickneſs of the revêtement at the top, and $\frac{1}{10}(2h+2e+c+50)$ is the thickneſs at the bottom.

A DEMONSTRATION OF ONE OF THE

HINDOO RULES OF ARITHMETICK.

By Mr. REUBEN BURROW.

THE art of invention being in a great meaſure dependent on the doctrine of combinations, every additional improvement in the laſt muſt of conſequence be uſeful in the former; and as the following ancient rule for "*finding the ſum of all the different permutations of a given numeral quantity, conſiſting of a given number of places of figures,*" is not, I believe, extant in any *European* Author, and is beſides very ingenious, I take the liberty to inſert it, and alſo to add the demonſtration.

Rule. Place an Arithmetical Progreſſion over the figures, beginning with unity at the units place, and increaſing by unity: divide the product of the terms of this progreſſion by the number of places of figures in the given quantity, multiply the ſum of the figures in the given quantity by the quotient, and ſet down the product as often as there are places in the given quantity, removing it each repetition one place to the right hand, and the ſum of theſe lines is the ſum of all the permutations.

Example. Required the ſum of the different permutations of 893.

$$\frac{1\times2\times3}{3}=2;\quad (8+9+3)2=40;$$

```
3  2  1          40          893
8  9  3           40         839
                   40        983
                 ----        938
                 4440        389
                             398
                             ----
                             4440
```

DEMONSTRATION.

First, It is evident that if all the permutations of any number of letters expressing figures be put down; and those in the first place to the right hand be multiplied by unity; those in the second place by ten; those in the third place by 100, and so on; then the sum of all these will be the sum of the permutations required.

Secondly, Supposing the different permutations to be put down one under another, it will really appear, from the manner in which permutations are generated, that all the letters occur an equal number of times in each perpendicular column; and also that the number of times of occurrence in the permutation of n letters, is equal to the permutations of n—1 letters; but the permutations of n—1 letters is equal to 1.2.3...(n—1) or 1×2×3 carried to n—1 terms; and consequently if there be n letters in the given number, each letter in the columns aforesaid will occur 1 . 2 . 3 . . . (n—1 times.)

Thirdly, Let 1 . 2 . . (n—1)=m then

m (a+b+c+ . . n) 1= sum of numbers in the units place or first column.

m (a+b+c+ . . n) 10= sum of numbers in the tens or second column.

m (a+b+c+ . . n) 100=ditto third column.

m (a+b+c+ . . n) 100 . . . to (n—1) Cyphers=ditto in the n column; and the sum of these is evidently equal to

m (a+b+c+ . . . n) . (1+10+100+ . . . to n terms); and putting for (1+10+100 . . n) its value 111 . . . n, the expression becomes

(1 . 2 . 3 . . (n—1)) × (a×b×c× . . n) × (111 . . . n), but 1 . 2 . 3 . . . (n—1) is equal to $\frac{1.2.3...n}{n}$ and therefore the expression for the sum of all the permutations is ($\frac{1.2.3...n}{n}$) × (a+b+c+ . . . n) × (111 . . . n), which is the Hindoo rule when the figures of the given number are all unlike.

Lastly,

Laſtly, It is evident that 1 . 2 . 3 . . . n is the number of permutations of n different things; but if ſeveral ſets of figures are alike, as r figures of one kind, s figures of another, for inſtance; then let $(1 . 2 . 3 . n . . .):(1 . 2 . . r) \times (1 . 2 . . . s)$, &c. the number of permutations in that caſe be called N; then the ſum of the permutations is $N : n + (a+b+c+ . . . n) \times (111 . . . n)$ in general.

Example. Required the ſum of the permutations of 11335?

$$\frac{1.2.3.4.5}{1.2.1.2}=30;\ \frac{30}{5}=6 \times 13=78;$$

```
78
 78
  78
   78
    78
------
866658 the Sum required.
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VII.

On the NICOBAR ISLES, and the FRUIT of the MELLORI.

By NICHOLAS FONTANA, Esq.

THE ſouth-weſt monſoon having ſtrongly ſet in on the *Malabar* coaſt, it was deemed unſafe to remain there any longer; we therefore took our departure from *Mangalore* on the 20th of *May*, 1778, directing our courſe towards the gulph of *Bengal*; and in leſs than ten days, we came in ſight of the *Carnicobar* Iſlands; the appearance of which, at ſeven or eight leagues diſtance, is much like a chain of mountains covered with woods: we anchored to the N. E. of one of them, in five fathoms, with a good ſandy bottom; ſupplied ourſelves with water and wood, and proceeded in queſt of the other *Nicobars*, or *Nancaveris*, as they are called, ſituated between eight and nine degs. N. lat. to the northernmoſt point of the iſland of *Sumatra*. They were deſcried on the 4th of *June*, to the S. W. ½ W. at the diſtance of ten leagues: the poſition of three of thoſe iſlands forms one of the ſafeſt harbours in *India*, where ſhips of all ſizes may ride with the greateſt ſecurity, ſheltered from all winds, about half a mile from ſhore; with the additional advantage of two entrances, that may ſerve for getting in and out, both with a N. E. and S. W. monſoon, having a clear deep channel on each ſide.

In one of the bays formed within thoſe iſlands, we moored in twelve fathoms, and there remained until the S. W. monſoon was quite over, which was in the beginning of *September*. The largeſt of thoſe iſlands is called *Nancaveri*, or *Nancowry*, about five or ſix leagues in circumference, and better inhabited than either of the other two. The ſecond is called *Sowry*, or *Chowry*, and the other *Tricùt*, all cloſely ſituated: about ten

ten leagues to the N. E. of them is another, called *Catchoul**.

Almoſt the whole of thoſe iſlands is uncultivated, though there are a number of large valleys that might be rendered very fruitful, with little trouble, the ſoil being naturally fertile, where the cocoa-nut, and all other tropical fruits, come ſpontaneouſly to the higheſt perfection, together with yams and ſweet potatoes, to obtain which it is only neceſſary to ſcratch the earth ſuperficially, and the ſeeds ſo planted come forth in a few days†.

The ſurrounding ſea abounds with exquiſite fiſh, ſhell-fiſh, as cockles and turtles; and a moſt ſplendid diſplay of beautiful ſhells of the rareſt ſort are to be met with on the ſhore. The birds' neſts‡ ſo much eſteemed in *China*, are alſo to be found among the rocks: ambergris is likewiſe to be met with; but the inhabitants have learned a mode of adulterating it, and it is therefore ſeldom to be found in a genuine ſtate: if adulterated with any heterogeneous matter, ſuch as wax, or reſin, the mode of diſcovery is ſimply by placing a ſmall bit of it upon the point of a knife when

* In the year 1756, the *Daniſh* E. I. Company erected on one of theſe iſlands a houſe to ſerve as a factory, but on their failure, in the year 1758, it was evacuated. On the re-eſtabliſhment of the Company in 1768, another houſe was built on *Soury* Iſland, which was in 1773, in like manner, ordered to be evacuated as uſeleſs to the Company's intereſts: three or four *European* miſſionaries, with a view of making proſelytes, remained behind, and have continued there ever ſince, but without effecting even the converſion of a ſingle perſon; they collect, however, cocoa-nut oil, ſhells, and other natural curioſities, which they ſend annually to their brethren at *Tranquebar*.

An exact plan of theſe iſlands may be ſeen in the *Neptune Oriental.*

† *Tricut*, being the flatteſt of thoſe Iſlands, is divided amongſt the inhabitants of the other two, where they have their plantations of Cocoa-nut and *Areca* trees; theſe laſt being very abundant all over the iſlands.

‡ *Nidos hos, rupibus oceani orientalis affixos, parant hirundines marini, domeſticis multo majores, ex holothuriis mari innatantibus materiam decerpentis.* KOEMPF. *Amœn.*—p. 833.

when hot, and if it evaporates without leaving any calx, or *Caput Mortuum*, and diffuſes a ſtrong fragrant ſmell, it is certainly genuine.

The inhabitants of the *Nicobar* Iſlands are of a copper colour, with ſmall eyes obliquely cut, what in ours is white being in theirs yellowiſh; with ſmall flat noſes, large mouths, thick lips, and black teeth; well proportioned in their bodies, rather ſhort than tall, and with large ears, in the lobes of which are holes, into which a man's thumb might be introduced with eaſe; they have black ſtrong hair, cut round: the men have little or no beard; the hinder part of their head is much flatter and compreſſed than ours; they never cut their nails, but they ſhave their eye-brows*. A long narrow cloth, made of the bark of a tree, round their waiſt, and between their thighs, with one extremity hanging down behind†, is all their dreſs. The women and men are of the ſame copper colour, and very ſmall in ſtature; a bit of cloth made with the threads of the bark of the cocoa-nut-tree faſtened to the middle, and reaching half way down the thigh, forms all the covering of the women. Both ſexes are, however, very fond of dreſs; and when the men go into the preſence of ſtrangers, they put on hats and old clothes, that have been

* It is a cuſtom among them to compreſs with their hands the occiput of the new-born child, in order to render it flat; as, according to their ideas, this kind of ſhape conſtitutes a mark of beauty, and is univerſally eſteemed ſuch by them: by this method, alſo, they ſay that the hair remains cloſe to the head, as nature intended it, and the upper fore-teeth very prominent out of the mouth.

† A traveller called KEOPING, a *Swede*, who went to the *Eaſt Indies*, on board a *Dutch* ſhip, in the year 1647, which anchored off the *Nicobar* Iſlands, relates that they diſcovered men with tails, like thoſe of cats, and which they moved in the ſame manner. That having ſent a boat on ſhore with five men, who did not return at night, as expected, the day following a larger boat was ſent, well manned, in queſt of their companions, who, it was ſuppoſed, had been devoured by the ſavages, their bones having been found ſtrewed on the ſhore, the boat taken to pieces, and the iron of it carried away.

The

been given them by *Europeans*; but among themſelves they are almoſt naked.

They live in huts, made of cocoa-nut-leaves of an oval form, ſupported on bamboos, about five or ſix feet high from the ground; the entrance into the huts is by a ladder; the floor is made partly of planks, and partly of ſplit bamboos. Oppoſite to the door, in the furthermoſt part of the hut, they light their fire, and cook their victuals: ſix or eight people generally occupy one hut; and a number of ſkulls of wild boars forms the moſt valuable article of furniture.

The occupation of the men conſiſts in building and repairing their huts, which affords them an annual employment for ſix months at leaſt, and in fiſhing and trading to the neighbouring iſlands. The women are employed in preparing the victuals, and cultivating the ground; they alſo paddle in the canoes, when the men go out. They unite in matrimony through choice; and if the man is not ſatisfied with the conduct of the woman, either from her inattention to domeſtic concerns, or ſterility, or even from any diſlike on his part, he is at liberty to diſcharge her; and each unites with a different perſon, as if no ſuch connection had taken place. Adultery is accounted highly ignominious and diſgraceful; particularly with perſons not of the ſame caſt: ſhould it be proved, the woman would not only be diſmiſſed with infamy, but, on ſome occaſions, even put to death; although, by the intervention of a ſmall token given publickly, and conſiſting of nothing more than a leaf of tobacco, the reciprocal *lending of their wives of the ſame caſt* is exceedingly common.

A woman

The account of this voyage was reprinted at *Stockholm* by SILVIUM in the year 1743. LINNÆUS ſeems to have been too credulous in believing this man's ſtory; for, in all my examinations, I could diſcover no ſort of projection whatever on the *Os Cocygis* of either ſex. What has given riſe to this ſuppoſed tail, may have been the ſtripe of cloth hanging down from their poſteriors; which, when viewed at a diſtance, might probably have been miſtaken for a tail.

A woman who bears three children, is reckoned very fruitful; few bear more than four; the cause may be attributed to the men, from a debility occasioned by the early intrusion of the testicles into the abdomen, the hard compression of them and the penis by the bandage round those parts, from premature venery, and hebetation brought on by the immoderate use of spirits; and from the very inactive and sedentary life those people lead, it will not be difficult to account for that want of longevity, which seems to prevail much in those islands, more especially amongst the men, where none were to be seen older than forty or forty-eight years. The women, on the contrary, seem to live much longer.

They are themselves so sensible of the scanty population of their islands, that they study to increase it by inviting, and even seducing, some *Malabars* or *Bengalese* to remain amongst them, when brought thither by the country ships, and of whom there are in almost all villages some to be found, who may be easily discerned from the natives by their figure, features, colour, and language. The natives encourage their stay by grants of land, with plantations of cocoa-trees and arecas; and, after a certain number of years, they are permitted to make choice of a female companion.

Their indolence is not to be equalled by any other people of the east. They go out a fishing in their canoes at night; and with harpoons, which they dart very dexterously at the fish, after having allured them into shallow water with burning straw, a sufficient number is soon caught to serve the family for a meal: they immediately return home; and if, by chance, they catch a very large fish, they will readily dispose of one half, and keep the remainder for their own use.

They entertain the highest opinion of such as are able to read and write: they believe that all *Europeans*, by this qualification only, are able to perform

acts

acts more than human; that the power of divination, controlling the winds and storms, and directing the appearance of the planets, is entirely at our command.

This people, like other savage nations, dread the evil genius: some among them give themselves the air of divination, and presume to have secret confabulations with him: superstition must ever be in its full dominion where ignorance is so gross.

Some of the natives, having begun to fabricate earthen pots, soon after died; and the cause being attributed to this employment, it has never been resumed; since they prefer going fifteen or twenty leagues to provide them, rather than expose themselves to an undertaking attended, in their opinion, with such dangerous consequences.

Whenever they visit one another, no sort of compliment or salutation takes place between them; but when the visitors take leave, they are profuse in good wishes, that last for some minutes, with different inflections of voice, to which the other constantly answers, by repeating the words *Callá callá condì condì quiagé*, which may be rendered in *English* thus: "Very well, very well; go, go, and return soon."

Behind, or close by their huts, the dead are buried: all the relations and acquaintance cry for some hours before the corpse is put into the grave, where it is interred with all possible solemnity, and in the best dress they can muster, and with abundance of food. After the body is covered with earth, a post is raised, and fixed in the ground over the head of the deceased, about four feet high, to the top of which they suspend strips of cloth, with meal and areca nuts, and strew cocoa-nuts all around. This supply of food for the deceased is even after continued: a cocoa-tree is also cut down for every person that dies.

dies. As ſoon as a man is dead, his name is never mentioned, even if repeatedly aſked; every one of the mourning viſitors brings a large pot of toddy. The women ſit round the corpſe howling and crying, and by turns they go and put their hands on the breaſt and belly of the deceaſed, who is covered with ſtriped cloth: the men are ſeated at a little diſtance, drinking, and inviting all the viſitors to do the ſame; endeavouring thus to diſpel their grief, by a complete general intoxication, which never laſts leſs than a couple of days after the interment.

The different changes of the moon are productive of great feſtivity and mirth among the *Nicobarians*, when the doors of their huts are decorated with branches of palms, and other trees: the inſide is alſo adorned with feſtoons made of ſlips of plantain leaves. Their bodies are, in like manner, decorated with the ſame ornaments; and the day is ſpent in ſinging and dancing, and eating, and drinking toddy, till they are quite ſtupified.

The idea of years, and months, and days, is unknown to them, as they reckon by moons only, of which they number fourteen, ſeven to each monſoon. At the fair ſeaſon, or the beginning of the N. E. monſoon, they ſail in large canoes to the *Car Nicobars*, called by them *Champaloon*. The object of this voyage is trade; and for cloth, ſilver coin, iron, tobacco, and ſome other articles, which they obtain from *Europeans*, together with fowls, hogs, cocoa, and areca nuts, the produce of their own iſland, they receive in exchange, canoes, ſpears, ambergris, birds'-neſts, tortoiſe-ſhell, and ſo forth.

Ten or twelve huts form a village. The number of inhabitants on any one of theſe iſlands does not exceed ſeven or eight hundred. Every village has its *Head Man*, or *Captain*, as they term him, who is generally

nerally the oldeſt. Few diſeaſes are known amongſt them; and the venereal not at all: the ſmall-pox viſits them occaſionally, but not of the confluent kind: what is more prevalent amongſt them, is the œdematous ſwelling of one or both of the legs, known in the weſt of *India* under the name of the *Cochin Leg*, from the place where this diſorder generally prevails. This endemial diſeaſe may be imputed to the following cauſes; ill-choſen and badly-prepared diet; the bad choice of habitations, and an extremely indolent inactive life. Fevers and cholicks are alſo frequent among them. When a perſon falls ſick, he is immediately removed to the houſe of one of their prieſts, or conjurors, who orders the patient to be laid in a ſupine poſture for ſome time; then friction with ſome oily ſubſtance is applied to the upper part of the body, and often repeated; which remedy they indiſcriminately uſe for all complaints, never adminiſtering medicines internally.

The only quadrupeds on theſe iſlands are hogs and dogs: of the former, however, only the ſows are kept, and they are fed principally with the milk of the cocoa-nut and its kernel, which renders the meat of a firmneſs and delicious taſte, even ſuperior, both in colour and flavour, to the beſt *Engliſh* veal. It may be worthy remark, that, although the neighbouring *Car Nicobar* woods abound with monkeys of different ſpecies, none are to be ſeen in theſe iſlands, notwithſtanding their having been repeatedly brought over: they neither propagate, nor do they live for any time.

Among the feathered tribe, wild pigeons are pretty abundant from *June* to *September*, on account of a berry which is then ripe, and on which they feed with great eagerneſs: at the ſame time pheaſants and turtle-doves are frequently found: the conſtant inhabitants of the woods are a ſpecies of the green parrot, or

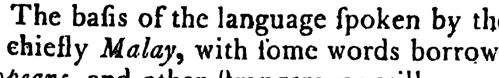
 parroquet,

parroquet, with a black bill and collar: no other birds are to be found in them.

The climate is pure, and might, with little trouble, be rendered very ſalubrious: conſtant ſea breezes fan their ſhores, thus preſerving them from oppreſſive heat: vegetation continues without intermiſſion: the woods are very thick, and the trees bound together by a kind of twig or creeping ſhrub, that renders them almoſt impervious.

The *Nicobar* dance is as dull and inanimate as can be conceived, as well for the ſlowneſs and heavineſs of its motions, as for the plaintive monotonous tune that accompanies it: with no inſtrument but their mournful low voices, which are in perfect uniſon with the motion of their bodies. Men and women form a circle, by putting their hand on each others ſhoulders; they move ſlowly, backwards and forwards, inclining ſometimes to the right, and ſometimes to the left.

The whole of their muſick conſiſts of the few following notes.



De Capo.

The baſis of the language ſpoken by theſe iſlanders, is chiefly *Malay*, with ſome words borrowed from *Europeans*, and other ſtrangers, as will appear by the following ſpecimen:

Chia	Father	*Ochiá*	Uncle
Cioum	Grandfather	*Encognee*	Man
Chia Enchāna	Mother	*Covon*	Son

Encáná	Woman	*Háyi*	Wind
Cance	Wife	*Onijo*	Water
Chegnoun	Child	*Gnam*	Calm
Choi	Head	*Tenfagi*	Day-light
Lal	Forehead	*Sciafin*	Evening
Moha	Nofe	*Hatahom*	Night
Holmat	Eyes	*Kamhen*	Noon
Manonge	Lips	*Menzovi*	Yefterday
Caleta	Tongue	*Holactas*	To-morrow
Incaougn	Chin	*Charou*	Great
Nann	Ears	*Mombéschi*	Small
Enchojon	Hairs	*Koan*	Strong
Halikolala	Neck	*At loan*	Weak
Thà	Breaft	*Jo*	Yes
Vhian	Belly	*At chiou*	No
Foún	Navel	*Lapoa*	Is good
Choal	Arm	*Pisi*	Is enough
Eckait	Shoulders	*Thiou*	Me or I
Och	Back	*Mhihe*	You
Kinitay	Hand&fingers	*Kalakala younde*	Farewell
Poto	Thigh	*Emloum*	Gold
Colcanon	Knee	*Henoe*	Fire
Hanhan	Leg	*Dheah*	Water
Ciscoa	Nail	*Lhoe*	Cloth
Hignoughn	Beard	*Lanoa*	Aftrip they wear
Tohon	Sick	*Gni*	Houfe
Lha-ha	Dead	*Tanop*	Pipe
Hivi	Devil	*Carrovaj*	Lemon
Hen	Sun	*Hoat*	Old Cocoa-nut
Chae	Moon	*Gninoo*	Green Cocoa-nut

Nat

Nat	Cane	*Laam*	To lay down
Pantan	Rattan	*Hancihatena*	Come hither
Aptejo	Cheſt	*Ciou*	Be gone
Cerum	Needle	*Hethaj*	To laugh
Hendel	Muſket	*Houm*	To weep
Henathoa	Knife	*Hanan*	To dance
Danon	Medicine	*Hame*	To rain
Heja	Betel Nut	*Pheumhoj*	To ſmoke
Acœ	Betel Leaf	*Hansciounga*	To walk
Cion	Lime	*Duonde*	To paddle or row
Chapeo	Hat	*Poushili*	To ſet down
Lenzo	Handkerchief	*Hahahon*	To vomit
☞ These two laſt words are borrowed from the *Portugueſe.*		*Achicienga*	To ſtand
		Hichiackeri	To ſpeak
		Athe het	To write
Hanchan Cha-peo	Put on your hat	*Ajouhy*	To light
		Luva	Lead
Not	A hog	*Carân*	Iron
Ham	A dog	*Chânlo*	Shirt and coat
Cochin	A cat	*Haĭnhă*	Breeches
Taſſoach	Hen	*Hanho lola*	Stockings
Ohia	Egg	*Dhanapola*	Shoes
Inlegne	Bird's Neſt	*Halhat*	Bracelet
Cattoch	Parrot	*Henpòjou*	Chair
Cha	Fiſh	*Cheráchà*	Table
Cap	Tortoiſeſhell	*Pará*	Dollar, or ſilver
Hanino	To eat	*Thanula*	Black
Peoum	To drink	*Chunla*	Red
Etaja	To ſleep	*Unat*	White
Ha-caou	To buy	*Cambalamagn*	Striped cloth
Hen vhej	To ſell		

NUMERALS

NUMERALS.

Heàn	One	*Eancata*	Nine
Haà	Two	*Sicom*	Ten
Loe	Three	*Sicom hean*	Eleven
Toan	Four	*Sicom háa*	Twelve
Tanĕe	Five	*Hemom thouma*	Twenty
Tafoul	Six	*Rocate*	Thirty
Isat	Seven	*Toanmoan thiuma*	Forty
Enfoan	Eight	*Sicom sicom*	Hundred

It feems that they have no expreffion for the numbers beyond forty, except by multiplication.

Trees of great height and fize are to be feen in their woods, of a compact texture, well calculated for naval conftructions*; but the productions of which they are more particularly careful, are the cocoa and *areca* trees, the laft being chiefly for their own confumption; as they chew it all day long with tobacco, betel-leaf, and fhell-lime: the former is not only ufeful for their own and their hogs' nourifhment, but alfo an object of trade. Moft of the country fhips, that are bound to *Pegu* from either of the coafts of *India*, touch at the *Nicobar* Iflands, in order to procure a cargo of cocoa-nuts, which they purchafe at the rate of four for a tobacco-leaf, and one hundred for a yard of blue cloth, and a bottle of cocoa-nut oil for four leaves of tobacco.

The

* One of thefe trees our people cut down, that meafured nine fathoms in circumference, or fifty-four feet.

The tropical fruits grow in thoſe iſlands exquiſitely flavoured, the pine-apple in particular: wild cinnamon and ſaſſafras grow there alſo; the coffee-tree in two years yields fruit; yams are to be found for three or four months in the year only, and are eaten by the natives inſtead of the *Larum*, a nutritive fruit; in the deſcription of which, and the tree that produces it, we ſhall here endeavour to be very particular.

The tree that bears this nutritive fruit, is a ſpecies of *Palm*, called by them *Larum;* by the *Portugueſe Mellóri;* and is very abundant in thoſe iſlands, as well as in *Carnicobar:* it grows promiſcuouſly in the woods, among other trees, but it delights more particularly in a damp ſoil. The trunk is often ſtraight, thirty or thirty-five feet high, and ten or twelve inches (the oldeſt even two feet) in circumference: the bark is ſmooth, aſh-coloured, with equidiſtant interſections, of a compact hard texture in its interior part, but ſoft, and quite hollow, in the centre from the top of the trunk; the leaves grow diſpoſed like a calyx, about three feet long, and four inches broad, enſiform and aculeate, of a dark green hue, and of a tenacious hard ſubſtance: the roots are out of the ground, and inſerted at eight or ten feet on the trunk, according to its age, being not quite two feet in the earth: the fruit, which has the ſhape of a pine, and the ſize of a large *Jaca*, comes out of the bottom of the leaves: the age of a man is ſeldom ſufficient to ſee the trees bearing fruit: its weight forces it out of the leaves, and when it is nearly ripe, which is known by the natives on the change of its colour from green to yellowiſh, it is gathered, and weighs from thirty to forty pounds. The drupes are looſened by thruſting a piece of iron between their interſtices: the exterior ſurface is cut off, and thus put into earthen pots covered with leaves, then boiled on a ſlow fire for ſeveral hours together: the fruit is ſufficiently boiled, when the medullary part of it becomes ſoft and friable; it is then taken from the fire, and ex-

 poſed

posed to the cold air; when cold, the drupes are separated from the stalk, and the medullary part pressed out by means of a shell forced into them. Within the woody part of the drupes, there are two seeds, in shape and taste much like almonds: the soft part is then collected into a spherical mass; and, in order to extract all the stringy fragments remaining in it by the compression of the shell, a thread is passed and repassed, until the whole is extracted, and it comes out perfectly clean: it is then of a pale yellow colour, much resembling *polenta*, or the dressed meal of the *Zea Mays*, and in taste much like it: when not newly prepared, it has an acidity, to which it tends very strongly, if long exposed to the atmosphere; but it may be preserved a long time, if well covered.

It is certain, that the *Nicobar* bread-fruit tree differs very essentially from the palm described by Mr. Masson, and found in the interior parts of *Africa*, which bears a sort of bread-fruit. On my showing to Mr. Masson, in *March*, 1790, the drawing of the tree here described, he was pleasingly surprised at the novelty, and declared he had never before seen it. It differs also from the bread-fruit-tree found in *Otaheite*, and described by Captain Cook in his Voyage round the World, as will appear very evident on a reference to the notes of that work. Some shrubs, whose leaves resemble much those of the *Nicobar* bread-fruit tree, are to be seen on the *Coromandel* Coast, and in the Isle of France, where they thrive in some degree, but never attain the height of those at *Nicobar*: imperfect small fruits are seen once a year sprouting out; and the inhabitants derive an advantage from the leaves of the tree, which they convert into mats and bags to hold coffee.

NOT

NOTE *by the* PRESIDENT.

As far as we can determine the claſs and order of a plant from a mere delineation of its fruit, we may ſafely pronounce, that the *Léram* of *Nicobar* is the *Cádhi* of the *Arabs*, the *Cétaca* of the *Indians*, and the *Pandanus* of our botaniſts, which is deſcribed *very awkwardly* (as KOENIG firſt obſerved to me) in the Supplement to LINNÆUS: he had himſelf deſcribed with that *elegant conciſeneſs*, which conſtitutes the beauty of the *Linnean* method, not only the wonderful fructification of the fragrant *Cétaca*, but moſt of the flowers, which are celebrated in *Sanſcrit*, by poets for their colour or ſcent, and by phyſicians for their medical uſes; and, as he bequeathed his manuſcripts to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, we may be ſure, that the public ſpirit of that illuſtrious naturaliſt will not ſuffer the labours of his learned friend to be ſunk in oblivion. Whether the PANDANUS *Léram* be a new *ſpecies*, or only a variety, we cannot yet poſitively decide; but four of the plants have been brought from *Nicobar*, and ſeem to flouriſh in the Company's Botanical Garden, where they will probably bloſſom; and the greateſt encouragement will, I truſt, be given to the cultivation of ſo precious a vegetable. A fruit weighing twenty or thirty pounds, and containing a farinaceous ſubſtance, both palatable and nutritive in a high degree, would, perhaps, if it were common in theſe provinces, for ever ſecure the natives of them from the horrors of famine; and the *Pandanus* of *Bengal* might be brought, I conceive, to equal perfection with that of *Nicobar*, if due care were taken to plant the male and female trees in the ſame place, inſtead of leaving the female, as at preſent, to bear an imperfect and unproductive fruit, and the diſtant male to ſpread itſelf only by the help of its radicating branches.

NOTE on PAGE 150.

Though little can be added to M. Poivre's deſcription of the *Salangane*, or *Hirundo, nidis edulibus*, yet as Captain Forrest was a perfect maſter of the *Malay* tongue, and deſcribed only what he had ſeen, it will not be amiſs to ſubjoin his account of that ſingular bird. "The bird with "an edible neſt is called, ſays he, *Jaimaláni* by the natives of the *Moluccas*, "and *Layang-layang* by the *Malays*: it is black as jet, and very much "like a marten, but conſiderably ſmaller. Its neſts, which the *Malays* "call *Sarang*, are found in caves, and generally in thoſe to which the "ſea has acceſs; and, as they are built in rows on perpendicular rocks, "from which the young birds frequently fall, thoſe caves are frequented "by fiſh, and often by ſnakes, who are hunting for prey: they are made "of a ſlimy gelatinous ſubſtance found on the ſhore, of the ſea-weed called "*agal agal*, and of ſoft greeniſh ſizy matter, often ſeen on rocks in the "ſhade when the water oozes from above. Before a man enters ſuch a "cave, he ſhould frighten out the birds, or keep his face covered. The "*Jaimaláni* lays her eggs four times a year, but only two at a time: if "her neſt be not torn from the rock, ſhe will uſe it once more, but it then "becomes dirty and black; a neſt uſed but once before it is gathered, muſt "be dried in the ſhade, ſince it eaſily abſorbs moiſture, and, if expoſed to "the ſun, becomes red. Such edible neſts are ſometimes found in caves "which the ſea never enters, but they are always of a dark hue, inſtead "of being, like that now produced, very nearly pellucid: they may be "met with in rocky iſlands over the whole eaſtern Archipelago, (by far "the largeſt in the world,) but never, I believe, on the coaſt of *China*, "whither multitudes of them are carried from *Batavia*. The white and "tranſparent neſts are highly eſteemed, and ſold at *Batavia* for ſeven, "eight, nine, or ten dollars a catty of 1⅓lb. but the crafty *Chineſe*, at "that port, who pack up the neſts one in another, to the length of a foot "or eighteen inches, that they may not eaſily be broken, ſeldom fail, by "a variety of artifices, to impoſe on their employers."

On

VIII.

On the MYSTICAL POETRY of the PERSIANS and HINDUS.

By the PRESIDENT.

A FIGURATIVE mode of expreſſing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created ſpirits toward their Beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in *Aſia*; particularly among the *Perſian* theiſts, both ancient *Húshangis* and modern *Súfis*, who ſeem to have borrowed it from the *Indian* philoſophers of the *Védánta* ſchool; and their doctrines are alſo believed to be the ſource of that ſublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and ſparkles in the writings of the old *Academicks*. "PLATO travelled "into *Italy* and *Egypt*, ſays CLAUDE FLEURY, to learn "the theology of the Pagans at its fountain head:" its true fountain, however, was neither in *Italy* nor in *Egypt*, (though conſiderable ſtreams of it had been conducted thither by PYTHAGORAS, and by the family of MISRA,) but in *Perſia* or *India*, which the founder of the *Italick* ſect had viſited with a ſimilar deſign. What the *Grecian* travellers learned among the ſages of the eaſt, may perhaps be fully explained at a ſeaſon of leiſure, in another diſſertation; but we confine this eſſay to a ſingular ſpecies of poetry, which conſiſts almoſt wholly of a myſtical religious allegory, though it ſeems, on a tranſient view, to contain only the ſentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertiniſm: now, admitting the danger of a poetical ſtyle, in which the limits between vice and enthuſiaſm are ſo minute as to be hardly diſtinguiſhable, we muſt beware of cenſuring it ſeverely, and muſt allow it to be natural, though a warm imagination may carry it to a culpable exceſs; for an ardently grateful piety is congenial to the undepraved nature of man, whoſe mind, ſinking under the magnitude of the ſubject, and ſtruggling to

exprefs its emotions, has recourfe to metaphors and allegories, which it fometimes extends beyond the bounds of cool reafon, and often to the brink of abfurdity. Barrow, who would have been the fublimeft mathematician, if his religious turn of mind had not made him the deepeft theologian of his age, defcribes Love as "an affection or inclination of the "foul toward an object, proceeding from an appre"henfion and efteem of fome excellence or conveni"ence in it, as its *beauty*, worth, or utility, and pro"ducing, if it be abfent, a proportionable defire, and "confequently an endeavour to obtain fuch a pro"perty in it, fuch poffeffion of it, fuch *an approxima"tion to it, or union with it*, as the thing is capable of; "with a regret and difpleafure in failing to obtain it, "or in the want and lofs of it; begetting likewife a "complacence, fatisfaction, and delight, in its pre"fence, poffeffion, or enjoyment, which is moreover "attended with a good-will toward it fuitable to its "nature; that is, with a defire that it fhould arrive "at, or continue in, its beft ftate; with a delight to "perceive it thrive and flourifh; with a difpleafure "to fee it fuffer or decay; with a confequent endea"vour to advance it in all good, and preferve it from "all evil." Agreeably to this defcription, which confifts of two parts, and was defigned to comprife the tender love of the Creator towards created fpirits, the great philofopher burfts forth in another place, with his ufual animation, and command of language, into the following panegyrick on the pious love of human fouls toward the Author of their happinefs: "Love is "the fweeteft and moft delectable of all paffions; and, "when by the conduct of wifdom, it is directed in a "rational way toward a worthy, congruous, and at"tainable object, it cannot otherwife than fill the "heart with ravifhing delight: fuch, in all refpects, "fuperlatively fuch, is God; who, infinitely beyond "all other things, deferveth our affection, as moft per"fectly amiable and defirable; as having obliged us "by

" by innumerable and inestimable benefits; all the
" good that we have ever enjoyed, or can ever ex-
" pect, being derived from his pure bounty; all things
" in the world in competition with him being mean
" and ugly; all things without him, vain, unprofitable,
" and hurtful to us. He is the most proper object of
" our love; for we chiefly were framed, and it is the
" prime law of our nature, to love him; *our soul, from*
" *its original instinct, vergeth towards him as its centre,*
" *and can have no rest till it be fixed on him:* he alone
" can satisfy the vast capacity of our minds, and fill
" our boundless desires. He, of all lovely things,
" most certainly and easily may be attained; for,
" whereas, commonly men are crossed in their affec-
" tion, and their love is embittered from their affect-
" ing things imaginary, which they cannot reach, or
" coy things, which disdain and reject them, it is with
" GOD quite otherwise: He is most ready to impart
" himself; he most earnestly desireth and wooeth our
" love; he is not only most willing to correspond in
" affection, but even doth prevent us therein: *He doth*
" *cherish and encourage our love by sweetest influences,*
" *and most consoling embraces*, by kindest expressions
" of favour, by most beneficial returns; and, whereas
" all other objects do in the enjoyment much fail our
" expectation, he doth even far exceed it. Wherefore
" in all affectionate motions of our hearts toward
" GOD; in *desiring* him, or seeking his favour and
" friendship; in *embracing* him, or setting our esteem,
" our good will, our confidence on him; in *enjoying*
" him by devotional meditations and addresses to him;
" in a reflective sense of our interest and propriety in
" him; *in that mysterious union of spirit, whereby*
" *we do closely adhere to, and are, as it were, inserted*
" *in him;* in a hearty complacence in his benignity, a
" grateful sense of his kindness, and a zealous desire
" of yielding some requital for it, we cannot but feel
" very pleasant transports: indeed, that celestial flame,
" kindled in our hearts by the spirit of love, cannot
" be

"be void of warmth; we cannot fix our eyes upon "*infinite beauty*, we cannot tafte infinite fweetnefs, we "cannot cleave to infinite felicity, without alfo per-"petually rejoicing in the firft daughter of Love to "GOD, Charity toward men; which, in complexion "and careful difpofition, doth much refemble her "mother; for fhe doth rid us from all thefe gloomy, "keen, turbulent imaginations and paffions, which "cloud our mind, which fret our heart, which dif-"compofe the frame of our foul; from burning an-"ger, from ftorming contention, from gnawing envy, "from rankling fpite, from racking fufpicion, from "diftracting ambition and avarice; and confequent-"ly, doth fettle our mind in an even temper, in a "fedate humour, in an harmonious order, in *that* "*pleafant ftate of tranquillity, which naturally doth* "*refult from the voidance of irregular paffions.*" Now this paffage from BARROW (which borders, I admit, on quietifm and enthufiaftick devotion) differs only from the myftical theology of the *Súfis* and *Yógis*, as the flowers and fruit of *Europe* differ in fcent and flavour from thofe of *Afia*, or as *European* differs from *Afiatick* eloquence: the fame ftrain, in poetical meafure, would rife up to the odes of SPENSER on *Divine Love* and *Beauty;* and in a higher key, with richer embellifhments, to the fongs of HAFIZ and JAYADE′VA, the raptures of the *Mafnavi*, and the myfteries of the *Bhágavat*.

Before we come to the *Perfians* and *Indians*, let me produce another fpecimen of *European* theology, collected from a late excellent work of the illuftrious M. NEKER. "Were men animated, fays he, with "fublime thoughts, did they refpect the intellectual "power with which they are adorned, and take an "intereft in the dignity of their nature, they would "embrace with tranfport that fenfe of religion, which "ennobles their faculties, keeps their minds in full "ftrength, and unites them in idea with him whofe

"immenfity

" immensity overwhelms them with astonishment: *con-*
" *sidering themselves as an emanation from that infinite*
" *Being*, the source and cause of all things, they would
" then disdain to be misled by a gloomy and false
" philosophy, and would cherish the idea of a GOD,
" who *created*, who *regenerates*, who *preserves* this uni-
" verse by invariable laws, and by a continued chain
" of similar causes producing similar effects; who per-
" vades all nature with his divine spirit, as an univer-
" sal soul, which moves, directs, and restrains the
" wonderful fabrick of this world. The blissful idea
" of a GOD sweetens every moment of our time, and
" embellishes before us the path of life; unites us de-
" lightfully to all the beauties of nature, and asso-
" ciates us with every thing that lives or moves. Yes;
" the whisper of the gales, the murmur of waters, the
" peaceful agitation of trees and shrubs, would concur
" to engage our minds, and *affect our souls with tender-*
" *ness*, if our thoughts were elevated to *one universal*
" *cause*, if we recognized on all sides the work of *Him*
" *whom we love;* if we marked the traces of his august
" steps, and benignant intentions; if we believed our-
" selves actually present at the display of his bound-
" less power, and the magnificent exertions of his
" unlimited goodness. Benevolence, among all the
" virtues, has a character more than human, and a
" certain amiable simplicity in its nature, which seems
" analogous to the *first idea*, the original intention of
" conferring delight, which we necessarily suppose in
" the Creator, when we presume to seek his motive
" in bestowing existence. Benevolence is that virtue,
" or, to speak more emphatically, that *primordial beau-*
" *ty*, which preceded all times and all worlds; and
" when we reflect on it, there appears an analogy, ob-
" scure indeed at present, and to us imperfectly known,
" between our moral nature and a time yet very re-
" mote, when we shall satisfy our ardent wishes and
" lively hopes, which constitute perhaps a sixth, and
" (if the phrase may be used) a distant sense. It may
" even

"even be imagined, that love, the brighteſt ornament "of our nature, love, enchanting and ſublime, is a "myſterious pledge for the aſſurance of thoſe hopes; "ſince love, by diſengaging us from ourſelves, by "tranſporting us beyond the limits of our own being, "is the firſt ſtep in our progreſs to a joyful immorta-"lity; and, by affording both the notion and example "of a cheriſhed object diſtinct from our own ſouls, "may be conſidered as an interpreter to our hearts of "ſomething which our intellects cannot conceive. "We may ſeem even to hear the ſupreme intelligence "and eternal ſoul of all nature, give this commiſſion "to the ſpirits which emanated from him: *Go; admire* "*a ſmall portion of my works, and ſtudy them; make* "*your firſt trial of happineſs, and learn to love him* "*who beſtowed it; but ſeek not to remove the veil* "*ſpread over the ſecret of your exiſtence: your nature* "*is compoſed of thoſe divine particles, which, at an infi-*"*nite diſtance, conſtitute my own eſſence: but you would* "*be too near me, were you permitted to penetrate the* "*myſtery of our ſeparation and union: wait the moment* "*ordained by my wiſdom; and, until that moment come,* "*hope to approach me only by adoration and gratitude.*"

If theſe two paſſages were tranſlated into *Sanſcrit* and *Perſian*, I am confident, that the *Védántes* and *Súfis* would conſider them as an epitome of their common ſyſtem; for they concur in believing that the ſouls of men differ infinitely in *degree*, but not at all in *kind*, from the divine ſpirit, of which they are *particles*, and in which they will ultimately be abſorbed; that the ſpirit of God pervades the univerſe, always immediately preſent to his work, and conſequently always in ſubſtance; that he alone is perfect benevolence, perfect truth, perfect beauty; that the love of him alone is *real* and genuine love, while that of all other objects is *abſurd* and illuſory; that the beauties of nature are faint reſemblances, like images in a mirror, of the divine charms; that, from eternity without begin-ning,

ning, to eternity without end, the ſupreme benevolence is occupied in beſtowing happineſs, or the means of attaining it: that men can only attain it by performing their part of the *primal covenant* between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure abſolute exiſtence but *mind* or *ſpirit;* that *material ſubſtances*, as the ignorant call them, are no more than gay *pictures*, preſented continually to our *minds* by the ſempiternal artiſt; that we muſt beware of attachment to ſuch *phantoms*, and attach ourſelves excluſively to God, who truly exiſts in us, as we exiſt ſolely in him; that we retain, even in this forlorn ſtate of ſeparation from our beloved, the *idea of heavenly beauty*, and the *remembrance* of our *primeval vows;* that ſweet muſick, gentle breezes, fragrant flowers, perpetually renew the primary *idea*, refreſh our fading memory, and melt us with tender affections; that we muſt cheriſh thoſe affections, and, by abſtracting our ſouls from *vanity*, that is, from all but God, approximate to his eſſence, in our final union with which will conſiſt our ſupreme beatitude. From theſe principles flow a thouſand metaphors, and other poetical figures, which abound in the ſacred poems of the *Perſians* and *Hindus*, who ſeem to mean the ſame thing in ſubſtance, and differ only in expreſſion, as their languages differ in idiom! The modern Su'fis, who profeſs a belief in the *Koran*, ſuppoſe, with great ſublimity both of thought and of diction, an *expreſs contract*, on *the day of eternity with beginning*, between the aſſemblage of created ſpirits and the ſupreme ſoul, from which they were detached, when a celeſtial voice pronounced theſe words, addreſſed to each ſpirit ſeparately: "Art thou not with thy Lord?" that is, art thou not bound by a ſolemn contract with him? and all the ſpirits anſwered with one voice, "Yes:" hence it is, that *aliſt*, or *art thou not?* and *beli*, or *yes*, inceſſantly occur in the myſtical verſes of the *Perſians*, and of the *Turkiſh* poets, who imitate them, as the *Romans* imitated the *Greeks*. The *Hindus* deſcribe the ſame covenant

covenant under the figurative notion, so finely expressed by ISAIAH, of a *nuptial contract*; for, considering GOD in the three characters of Creator, Regenerator, and Preserver, and supposing the power of *Preservation* and *Benevolence* to have become incarnate in the person of CRISHNA, they represent him as married to RA'DHA', a word signifying *atonement*, *pacification*, or *satisfaction*, but applied allegorically to the *soul of man*, or rather to *the whole assemblage of created souls*, between whom and the benevolent Creator they suppose that *reciprocal* love, which BARROW describes with a glow of expression perfectly oriental, and which our most orthodox theologians believe to have been mystically *shadowed* in the Song of SOLOMON, while they admit that, in a *literal* sense, it is an epithalamium on the marriage of the sapient king with the princess of *Egypt*. The very learned author of the Prelections on Sacred Poetry declared his opinion, that the Canticles were founded on historical truth, but involved in allegory of that sort which he named *mystical*: and the beautiful poem on the loves of LAILI and MAJNUM, by the inimitable NIZA'MI, (to say nothing of other poems on the same subject,) is indisputably built on true history, yet avowedly allegorical and mysterious; for the introduction to it is a continued rapture on *divine love*; and the name of LAILI seems to be used in the *Masnavi*, and the Odes of HAFIZ, for the omnipresent spirit of GOD.

It has been made a question, whether the poems of HAFIZ must be taken in a literal or in a figurative sense; but the question does not admit of a general and direct answer; for even the most enthusiastick of his commentators allow, that some of them are to be taken literally; and his editors ought to have distinguished them, as our SPENSER has distinguished his four odes on *Love* and *Beauty*, instead of mixing the profane with the divine, by a childish arrangement according

cording to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. Hafiz never pretended to more than human virtues, and it is known he had human propensities; for, in his youth, he was passionately in love with a girl surnamed *Shákhi Nebát*, or the *Branch of Sugarcane*, and the Prince of *Shiraz* was his rival: since there is an agreeable wildness in the story, and since the poet himself alludes to it in one of his odes, I give it you at length from the commentary. There is a place called *Pirisebz*, or the *Green Old Man*, about four *Persian* leagues from the city; and a popular opinion had long prevailed, that a youth, who should pass forty successive nights in *Pirisebz* without sleep, would infallibly become an excellent poet: young Hafiz had accordingly made a vow, that he would serve that apprenticeship with the utmost exactness, and for thirty-nine days he rigorously discharged his duty, walking every morning before the house of his coy mistress, taking some refreshment and rest at noon, and passing the night awake at his poetical station; but, on the fortieth morning, he was transported with joy on seeing the girl beckon to him through the lattices, and invite him to enter: she received him with rapture, declared her preference of a bright genius to the son of a king, and would have detained him all night, if he had not recollected his vow, and, resolving to keep it inviolate, returned to his post. The people of *Shiraz* add, (and the fiction is grounded on a couplet of Hafiz,) that early next morning, *an old man in a green mantle*, who was no less a personage than Khizr himself, approached him at *Pirisebz* with a cup brim full of nectar, which the *Greeks* would have called the water of *Aganippe*, and rewarded his perseverance with an inspiring draught of it. After his juvenile passions had subsided, we may suppose that his mind took that religious bent which appears in most of his compositions; for there can be no doubt that the following distichs, collected from different odes, relate to the mystical theology of the *Súfis*:

"In

"In eternity without beginning, a ray of thy beauty "began to gleam; when love ſprang into being, and "caſt flames over all nature:

"On that day thy cheek ſparkled even under thy "veil, and all this beautiful imagery appeared on the "mirror of our fancies.

"Riſe, my ſoul; that I may pour thee forth on "the pencil of that ſupreme artiſt, who compriſed "in a turn of his compaſs all this wonderful ſce-"nery!

"From the moment when I heard the divine "ſentence, *I have breathed into man a portion of my "ſpirit*, I was aſſured that we were His, and He "ours.

"Where are the glad tidings of union with thee, "that I may abandon all deſire of life? I am a bird "of holineſs, and would fain eſcape from the net of "this world.

"Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly "guidance, one cheering ſhower, before the mo-"ment when I muſt riſe up like a particle of dry "duſt!

"The ſum of our tranſactions, in this univerſe, "is nothing; bring us the wine of devotion; for "the poſſeſſions of this world vaniſh.

"The true object of heart and ſoul, is the glory of "union with our beloved: that object really exiſts; "but without it, both heart and ſoul would have no "exiſtence.

"O the

"O the bliſs of that day, when I ſhall depart from "this deſolate manſion; ſhall ſeek reſt for my ſoul; "and ſhall follow the traces of my beloved.

"Dancing with love of his beauty, like a mote "in a ſun-beam, till I reach the ſpring and foun- "tain of light, whence yon ſun derives all his "luſtre!"

The couplets which follow, relate as indubitably to human love, and ſenſual gratifications:

"May the hand never ſhake, which gathered the "grapes! May the foot never ſlip, which preſſed "them!

"That poignant liquor, which the zealot calls the "*mother of ſins*, is pleaſanter and ſweeter to me than "the kiſſes of a maiden.

"Wine two years old, and a damſel of fourteen, are "ſufficient ſociety for me, above all companies, great "or ſmall.

"How delightful is dancing to lively notes, and the "cheerful melody of the flute, eſpecially when we "touch the hand of a beautiful girl!

"*Call for wine, and ſcatter flowers around: what "more can thou aſk from fate?* Thus ſpoke the night- "ingale this morning; what ſayeſt thou, ſweet roſe, to "his precepts?

"Bring thy couch to the garden of roſes, that "thou mayeſt kiſs the cheeks and lips of lovely "damſels; quaff rich wine, and ſmell odoriferous "bloſſoms.

"O branch

31. Mr. Elphinstone did not for one moment attempt to ascertain, much less to decide upon any *claims* upon the Peshwa's Government; he confined his attention solely to the state of things which existed when that Government gave way to our own, and he recommended that *all personal Surinjams then* held should be continued, either in money or land, in whole or in part, for life or hereditarily, according to Rules which he framed and submitted for sanction. There was another and a very large class of persons for whom a *present provision* was deemed necessary, although they were not found in the possession of anything. Ranojee Powar was one of this latter class, and he received a handsome allowance for life, because, said Mr. Elphinstone, "though a person of great rank, he appears to have no claim to any Jagheer." The orders of the Honorable Court of Directors on which the revised pension lists were framed were not, as I understand them, intended to apply to any of these grants, but only to pensions granted in commutation of Surinjams held at the breaking out of the war and resumed by the British Government.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. A. Cowper, Captain,
Assistant Inam Commissioner.

No. 1930.

From W. Hart, Esq.,
Inam Commissioner,

To A. Malet, Esq.,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Dated Belgaum, 14*th April* 1853.

Sir,—With reference to your letter No. 4249, dated 1st October 1852, I have the honour to submit a report, No. 137, dated 19th March 1853, from my Assistant, Captain Cowper, regarding the pension entered as No. 17 of Class I. in the revised lists, submitted to Government by the Agent for Sirdars, Mr. Brown, under date the 4th June 1851.

2. Captain Cowper's report is so full and clear that I feel I have nothing to add to it, and can only solicit the instructions of Government on the case.

3. The amount of arrears supposed to be due, according to the statement submitted by the Acting Agent, Mr. Keays, with his memorandum No. 305, dated the 15th September 1852, is Rs. 16,983-1-6; but it is evident that whether or not Government may be pleased to make any provision for the sons of the deceased pensioner, the pension

which he held ought to have lapsed to Government, if not at the death of Ranojee Rao, for whose support alone Mr. Elphinstone appears to have intended it, at any rate at the death of his son in 1845.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. Hart,
Inam Commissioner.

No. 2748 of 1853.

Political Department.

To P. W. LeGeyt, Esq.,
Agent for Sirdars in the Deccan, Poona.

Sir,—With reference to my letter No. 4248, dated the 1st October 1852, I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council to transmit to you copy of a communication from Mr. Hart, late Inam Commissioner, No. 1930, dated the 14th April last, submitting a report from Captain Cowper dated the 19th of the previous month, showing the result of his investigation in respect to the pension entered in the name of Boobajee Rao Powar Viswas Rao, forming entry No. 17 of Class I. of the revised pension lists, submitted to Government by Mr. Brown on the 4th June 1851.

2. In forwarding these documents, I am desired to add thereto a *précis* of the past proceedings of Government on this subject, and to inform you that under the circumstances detailed therein and in Captain Cowper's report, it is clear that Madhow Rao, the grandson of the original British grantee, Ranojee Powar Viswas Rao, to whom Mr. Brown recommended a continuance on hereditary tenure of a moiety of the pension enjoyed by his father Boobajee Rao, can possess no valid claim to the same.

3. The Right Honorable the Governor in Council, accordingly, confirms the resumption of this grant from the date of the death of Boobajee Rao on the 18th May 1845, and directs that entry No. 17 in Class I. of Mr. Brown's lists of 1851 be forthwith expunged.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A Malet,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 23rd June 1853

Extract Paragraph 13 from a Despatch from the Honorable the Court of Directors, dated the 12th October, No. 55 of 1853.

(9.) Proceedings relating to No. 17 of Class I. of the revised lists of pensions granted in commutation of Surinjams, being a pension of Rs. 2,500 granted on hereditary tenure to Madhow Rao, grandson of the late Boobajee Rao Powar Viswas Rao.

Para. 13. The reference of Mr. Brown's list of pensions in commutation of Surinjams to the Inam Commissioner has led to the expunging of No. 17 from the list. Captain Cowper's report conclusively showed that the original grantee of this pension held no Surinjam at the breaking out of the war, and was not considered by Mr. Elphinstone to have a claim to any Jagheer. The pension was granted to him on other grounds, and only for life. It was, however, continued undiminished to his son Boobajee, who died in 1845. Madhow Rao, the son of Boobajee, has clearly no valid claim to the continuance of any part of it. Fortunately the recommendation of Mr. Brown in his favour had not been carried into effect.

APPENDIX EE.

REPORT BY THE INAM COMMISSIONER NORTHERN DIVISION.

No. 924 of 1855.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Dated Poona, 25th August 1855.

1. The village of Barwaice, Talooka Neerul, now a portion of the Tanna Collectorate, was, with certain deductions, granted by the Peshwa, at a valuation of Rs. 1,026-8-0, to Ragho Mulhar, as an allowance for a Palanquin, by a Sunud the registry of which is forthcoming in the State diary of the 20th October A. D. 1808 (29th Suba, Teesa Myatain wu Ulluf).

2. This village formed a portion of the territory ceded by the Peshwa to the British Government by the Treaty of Poona, on the 13th June 1817.

3. Mr. Elphinstone's instructions (the 7th of the Rules accompanying Mr. Elphinstone's letter of the 25th October 1819, to the Supreme Government), confirmed by the Supreme Government, regarding the alienations in the territory ceded by this Treaty, were :—

"No Surinjam ceded to the British Government by the Treaty of 1817, and no Jagheer not actually enjoyed up to the war, to be restored, unless specially directed so to be."

4. In the statement prepared by Mr. Elphinstone's Secretary, Mr. McDonnell, upon which the lists transmitted to Calcutta were framed, this holding was entered as shown below :—

"No. 29.—Ragho Mulhar.—Exd.

"*Konkun.*

Moujé Barwaiee, Turuf Wajeh, Talooka Neerul.. Rs. 1,026 8 0

"*Note.*—Sudashew Mankeshwur has Rs. 152-4-0 on Moujé Burwaiee, Turuf Wajeh.

"29. The Mootsudee's statement agrees exactly with the Duftur account. This village went in the cession of 1817."

5. In the Surinjam lists transmitted to Calcutta, neither this Surinjam nor any allowance in lieu of it was entered. It is of importance to bear in mind this fact, as it proves conclusively that the holding was not included by Mr. Elphinstone among the Surinjams held at the breaking out of the war with the Peshwa, and resumed, for the most part, by the British Government as grants made by Bajee Rao.

6. A pension was, however, granted, the entry of which in the "miscellaneous" lists of pensions granted by Mr. Elphinstone, which his successor, Mr. Chaplin, subsequently furnished, is below extracted :—

No.	Name in the Original List.	Annual Amount.	Persons to whom the Pensions have actually been granted.	Annual Amount.	Remarks.
	List No. 6, Miscellaneous.	Rs.		Rs.	
14	Ragho Mulhar ...	1,026	Ragho Mulhar......	1,026	Granted in lieu of a village in the Konkun, which he held in personal Jagheer till it was ceded by the Treaty of Poona.

7. Ragho Mulhar died on the 21st October 1843 (the date stated by the present claimant before the Inam Commissioner), and his son, the present claimant, having applied for the continuance of the pension, was informed in the Political Secretary's letter No. 2104 of the 1st July 1844,—

"The pension of Company's Rs. 82-2-0 per mensem enjoyed by your late father having been a life-grant, your application for its continuance cannot be complied with."

8. In paragraph 32 of their political despatch No. 8 dated the 12th April 1842, the Honorable Court of Directors drew the attention of the Bombay Government to the propriety of extending to pensions granted in commutation for Jagheer lands, the rules which might eventually be prescribed in relation to such lands ; and pursuant to their instructions, the Agent for Sirdars, Mr. Warden, submitted to Government with his letters Nos. 7 and 60, dated the 12th January and the 16th April 1844, lists of the persons to whom the orders of the Honorable Court applied. These lists were described by the Agent as containing only the names of those who actually held, on the breaking out of the war with the Peshwa, Surinjams which Mr. Elphinstone resumed, and in commutation for which he granted pensions. The Agent on this occasion explained in the 5th paragraph (below quoted) of his letter No. 7 of the 12th January 1844, the error which had up to that time been committed, in drawing no distinction between pensions granted in commutation for Surinjams actually held at the breaking out of the war with the Peshwa, and those granted to persons who had not at that period held any Surinjam, but for whom it was considered proper to make some provision :—

"5. The officer who prepared the Poona pension list would appear to have applied the remark 'in lieu of personal Jagheer' to every person who ever had a Surinjam, whether resumed long or shortly before the change of Government, or by the Government which granted the pension ; but seeing that it was a fundamental principle in the settlement of the country conquered from the Peshwa, that Surinjams

"The Sole Commissioner Mr. Elphinstone's despatches to the Supreme Government, dated June 18th 1818, and October 25th 1819.

should be granted to those only who held them on the accession of the British Government, and that even of these, such lands as were granted as late as Bajee Rao's time were to be resumed,* and pensions substituted for them, which pensions, it was said, 'would continually diminish as the holders died off,' it is clear that the Court of Directors, in speaking of pensions in commutation for Surinjams, do not allude to those pensions which Mr. Elphinstone granted to those who, on the principles of the settlement of the country, had no claim to land, however long and extensively they may at one time have been holders of it, and who, under the denomination of 'Ministers of former times,' 'ruined Sirdars,' 'late military Chiefs,' and the late Peshwa's Ministers and connexions, 'received pensions as a sort of bounty,' which was to diminish as the holders died off; but to those who, on the principles announced and acted on by the British Government, had just claims to Surinjams, which they lost in the adjustment of the territorial claims of British allies, or of which they were otherwise deprived by the British Government."

9. In the lists prepared by the Agent, Mr. Warden, the pension of Ragho Mulhar was *not* included.

10. Mr. Warden's lists were sent for revision to his successor, Mr. Brown, who submitted revised lists with his letter No. 206 of the 4th June 1851, in the 7th paragraph of which he mentioned having added to the names entered in Mr. Warden's lists of pensions of the Third Class, "the name of Ragho Mulhar, who was not before entered in Mr. Warden's statement."

11. Mr. Brown, in adding the name of Ragho Mulhar, appended the following letter, No. 1 of the 8th January 1851, from the Superintendent of the Poona Duftur, Mr. Turquand:—

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your memorandum dated the 20th ultimo, No. 1044, transmitting a petition dated the 11th ultimo, from Bappoojee Raghoonath Koolkurnee of village Kuradeh, for the continuance to him of the pension which at the accession of British rule was granted his father Ragho Mulhar, in lieu of village Barwaiee, Turuf Wanjeh, and calling for an explanation as to how the village Barwaiee could have been held at the breaking out of the war, Turuf Wanjeh, in which it is situated, having been included in the cessions made by the Peshwa by the Treaty of A. D. 1817.

"2. It would seem that the cessions in A. D. 1817 transferred to the British Government the obligation of respecting, as far as was equitable, all the then existing claims to alienated revenues, and that lists of these alienations of all sorts were furnished by the Peshwa's Government. Documents purporting to be copies of the lists thus furnished are forthcoming in the Duftur, and amongst them is a list of the alienations of all sorts from

* There are but two exceptions, so far as I can discover—viz. the Surinjams of Luxumon Rao Sudashew and Nimbajee Bhaskur.

Purguna Neerul, in which Rs. 1,026-8-0 are entered as the revenues of village Barwaiee, Turuf Wanjeh, held by Ragho Mulhar as the Surinjam for a Palanquin.

"3. Exclusive of Rs. 152-4-0 assigned to Sudashew Mankeshwur, village Barwaiee, Turuf Wanjeh, was granted to Ragho Mulhar, Karkoon Silledar, by a Sunud registered in the diary for the 29th Shaban, A. D. 1808-09, which shows the grant amounted to Rs. 1,026-8-0, and states as follows the purposes for which it was made.

Number.	No. in the Poona Pension List.	Name of the Original Pensioner.	Name of Present Pensioner.	Amount of Pension first granted.	Amount since continued.	Amount of Surinjam held by the Family commuted into Pension.	Date of Original Grant of Surinjam, taken from Sunuds or Government Records.	Date of Resumption, and by whom.	Age of the Present Pensioner.	Annual Income of the Pensioner from other Sources.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs. a. p.	A. D.	A. D.		Rs.
17	Not in the List.	Ragho Mulhar, deceased.	..	1,026	..	1,026 8 0	1808.	1817. By the British Government.	..	75

Rs. 800, the annual pay of Palanquin-bearers.
„ 121, ditto ditto of a torch-bearer and state umbrella-bearer.
„ 87½, materials for the Palanquin and umbrella.
„ 18, for oil for the torch.

Rs. 1,026½."

12. The following is the entry regarding this pension in Mr. Brown's revised lists:—

Names and Ages of his Legitimate Male Issue.	The Tenure.	Reasons for making the Grant, as recorded by the Sole Commissioner in the Deccan.	Remarks.
12	13	14	15
Bapoojee Raghoonath, 40 years.	For life.	None .	Ragho Mulhar died on 17th October 1843, leaving a widow and a son named Bapoo. The latter petitioned Government, and in consequence a correspondence took place between the Collector of Tanna and Government, which resulted in the petitioner being told in Government letter dated 1st July 1844, No. 2104, that the pension was a life-grant, and could not be continued. Bapoo since made a petition to the Agent at Poona, for an inquiry into his case. In a pension list framed by Mr. Chaplin, the Commissioner, the following remark is found on the name of Ragho Mulhar: "In lieu of the village of Barwaiee, Turuf Wanjeh, Talooka Neerul, held by him in personal Jagheer, but ceded by the Treaty of Poona." On looking at the Treaty of 1817, it appears that certain territory in the Konkun was ceded by the Peshwa, and the Peshwa was required to give accounts of the revenue for twenty years in five days. The Superintendent of the Duftur states that at that time lists of alienations in the territory ceded by the Treaty were also furnished, and amongst these the village of Ragho Mulhar is found recorded. (Vide Appendix U.) It is impossible to ascertain whether Ragho Mulhar held the village after the Treaty was concluded, because soon after this Treaty the war ensued, but the fact of a pension equal to the revenue of the village having been granted would of itself show that the claim to the village in question was considered equitable. The pension was granted by Mr. Elphinstone, and, therefore, a moiety of it should be continued to his son during his life, a suitable provision being at the same time made for his widow out of this moiety.

13. It seems clear that the Superintendent of the Poona Duftur must have been unaware of Mr. Elphinstone's distinct declaration (quoted in paragraph 3 of this letter) regarding the whole of these ceded Surinjams. Mr. Turquand was, moreover, apparently in error in supposing accounts of the ceded territory to have been rendered; for that, in spite of all the professions made by the Peshwa, these accounts were not rendered was, it is believed, one of the causes of complaint on the part of the British Government.

14. Mr. Elphinstone's declaration is, however, conclusive, as it is perfectly certain that at the time of the cession no reservation whatever was made regarding the Surinjams previously held in the ceded territory, or, indeed, regarding any other description of alienations therein. Inams and charitable allowances were continued at the close of the war; but of the whole of the Surinjams which had been ceded none were, Mr. Elphinstone ordered, "to be restored, unless specially directed so to be," which this Surinjam was not.

15. It seems, then, clear that the pension granted to Ragho Mulhar, not in lieu of a Surinjam resumed by the British Government, but as a matter of grace, in consideration of his having been a loser by the act of his own sovereign, was properly excluded by Mr. Warden from his lists, and ought not to have been, on their subsequent revision, added by Mr. Brown, as it was merely one of a very large class of pensions granted expressly for life; and there were, moreover, other pensions *precisely* similar in their nature which have not been continued beyond the original grantees. Such were two pensions, of Rs. 4,000 each, granted to Toolsee Shet and Bapoo Shet of Jumboosur in Guzerat, and regarding which the Collector of Broach has stated (letter No. 103 dated 20th February 1855) that out of six shares into which they were divided, five have lapsed by the death of the original grantees, nothing having in any case been continued to a second generation.

16. In the statement forwarded to Government by the Agent for Sirdars on the 15th September 1852, the arrears proposed to be paid to the son of Ragho Mulhar amount to Rs. 4,291-6-8, calculated, however, only up to the 17th June 1852.

17. There is another of these pensions which was included in Mr. Brown's revised lists of *Surinjams* (No. 4 of List 4); the Inam Commissioner proposes to report on this case at an early date.

18. Before concluding this report it is necessary to explain how this pension was, on the 17th June 1844, described by the Agent for Sirdars, Mr. Warden, as one entered in Mr. Elphinstone's Surinjam lists, and a document purporting to be an extract from those lists at the same time forwarded to Government; whereas, in paragraph 5 of this letter it has been stated, and stress has been laid on the fact, that it was not so entered.

19. On the 10th January 1853, the Inam Commissioner, Mr. Hart, addressed the following letter, No. 1557, to Government:—

"I have the honour to request that this department may be supplied with authentic copies from the Secretariat of India, of the lists of Surinjams which accompanied Mr. Elphinstone's letter of the 25th October 1819, and

the lists of pensions which accompanied his letter of the 26th idem, both addressed to the Secretary to the Government of India.

"2. The only office copies of the Surinjam lists which are on record in the office of the Agent for Sirdars in Poona are not authenticated, and are full of erasures and alterations, *when made* it is impossible to determine, while the only copies on record in the Bombay Secretariat have, I believe, been drawn up from them, which have, in fact, the appearance of mere rough drafts. This is my reason for begging that I may be furnished with copies of the lists actually signed by Mr. Elphinstone, and which, having always been lodged in Calcutta, cannot have been altered since their preparation."

20. Authenticated copies of Mr. Elphinstone's lists were, in consequence of the foregoing requisition, obtained from Calcutta and forwarded to the Inam Commissioner with the Chief Secretary's letter No. 877 of the 26th February 1853, and in these lists there *is no entry whatever* regarding either this pension or the Surinjam which was ceded by the Treaty of Poona.

21. The extract with which Government were furnished by Mr. Warden was made from the office copy described in paragraph 2 of Mr. Hart's letter; but even in this office copy I find a *pen to have been drawn through each portion of the entry.*

22. Under all the circumstances of the case, this pension does not seem to be one continuable in part, under the orders of the Honorable Court, to a second generation.

(Signed) T. A. COWPER, Captain,
Inam Commissioner Northern Division.

No 2604 OF 1856.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

To Captain T. A. COWPER,
Special Commissioner, in charge of Alienation Department.

SIR,—Referring to your report No. 924 dated the 25th August last, on the pension entered in Mr. Brown's revised lists as No. 17 of Class III., I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council to transmit to you copy of a resolution passed thereon by Government under date the 9th instant, and to inform you that this case will be submitted for the decision of the Honorable the Court of Directors.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. L. ANDERSON,
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 20th May 1856.

Resolution passed by Government under date 9th May 1856.

RESOLVED,—The village of Barwaiee, in the Tanna Collectorate, was granted to Ragho Mulhar, with certain deductions, in A. D. 1808, by a Sunud, as a Palkee allowance.

2. The village was amongst the cessions to the British Government by the Treaty of 1817.

3. The Honorable Mr. Elphinstone laid down—"That no Surinjam ceded to the British Government by the Treaty of 1817, and no Jagheer not actually enjoyed up to the war, to be restored, unless specially directed so to be."

4. In Mr. McDonnell's statement it is expressly mentioned—"This village went in the cession of 1817."

5. In the lists transmitted to Calcutta by Mr. Elphinstone, neither the Surinjam nor any allowance in lieu of it is entered.

6. Ragho Mulhar, however, obtained a pension, which he enjoyed until his death in 1843, when it was resumed as a life-grant.

7. In 1842 the Honorable Court had directed that pensions granted in commutation for Jagheer lands should be subject to the rules which might eventually be prescribed in relation to such lands. The question, therefore, is, whether the pension to Ragho Mulhar shall be continued for one life more, as his village would have been, had he retained it up to the conquest of the Deccan.

8. Mr. Warden pointed out in 1844 (see paragraph 8 of Captain Cowper's report) that a distinction was to be drawn between those who, not holding lands at the breaking out of the war, received pensions as a "sort of bounty," and those who had just claims to Surinjams which they lost in the adjustment of the territorial claims of British allies, or of which they were otherwise deprived by the British Government. In his lists the pension of Ragho Mulhar was not included.

9. Mr. Brown included the pension in his lists, *i. e.* as to be continued to one generation, apparently on the opinion of Mr. Turquand—"that the cessions of 1817 transferred to the British Government the obligation of respecting, as far as was quite equitable, all the then existing claims to alienations." Mr. Brown stated that the war followed so close on the Treaty of 1817 that it was impossible to ascertain whether Ragho Mulhar held the village after the Treaty; but he considered that the fact that a pension equal to the revenue of the village was granted showed that the claim was considered equitable.

10. Mr. Brown's statement is inconsistent with Mr. McDonnell's statement, prepared just after the war, "that the village went in the cessions of 1817," and with the fact that it was not included in the list forwarded by Mr. Elphinstone to Calcutta.

11. The Right Honorable the Governor in Council is, therefore, constrained to adopt the conclusion that the pension was granted as a "sort of bounty," according to Mr. Warden's phrase. This is the conclusion to which a strict examination of the facts in connection with the principles which have governed the settlement of the country would suggest; but under all the circumstances the case may be referred for the final instructions of the Honorable Court, as to whether the pension shall be entirely resumed or a moiety continued for the life of Ragho Mulhar's son.

'she sighs, she smiles, she mourns, she weeps, she 'moves from side to side, she laments and rejoices by 'turns. Her abode is a forest; the circle of her fe'male companions is a net; her sighs are flames of 'fire kindled in a thicket; herself (alas! through thy 'absence) is become a timid roe; and Love is the 'tiger who springs on her like YAMA, the Genius of 'Death. So emaciated is her beautiful body, that 'even the light garland, which waves over her bosom, 'she thinks a load. *Such, O bright-haired God, is* 'RA'DHA', *when thou art absent.* If powder of sandal'wood, finely levigated, be moistened and applied to 'her breasts, she starts, and mistakes it for poison. 'Her sighs form a breeze long extended, and burn 'her like the flame which reduced CANDARPA to 'ashes. She throws around her eyes, like blue water'lilies with broken stalks, dropping lucid streams. 'Even her bed of tender leaves appears in her sight 'like a kindled fire. The palm of her hands supports 'her aching temple, motionless as the crescent rising 'at eve. "HERI, HERI," thus in silence she medi'tates on thy name, as if her wish were gratified, and 'she were dying through thy absence. She rends her 'locks; she pants; she laments inarticulately; she 'trembles; she pines; she muses; she moves from 'place to place; she closes her eyes; she falls; she 'rises again; she faints. In such a fever of love, she 'may live, O celestial physician, if Thou administer 'the remedy; but, shouldst Thou be unkind, her ma'lady will be desperate. Thus, O divine Healer, by 'the nectar of thy love must RA'DHA' be restored to 'health; and if thou refuse it, thy heart must be 'harder than the thunder-stone. Long has her soul 'pined, and long has she been heated with sandal'wood, moon-light, and water-lilies, with which others 'are cooled; yet she patiently and in secret meditates 'on Thee, who alone canst relieve her. Shouldst 'thou be inconstant, how can she, wasted as she is to 'a shadow, support life a single moment? How can

'she

'she, who lately could not endure thy absence even
'an instant, forbear sighing now, when she looks with
'half-closed eyes on the *Rosála* with bloomy branches,
'which remind her of the vernal season, when she first
'beheld thee with rapture?'

'Here have I chosen my abode. Go quickly to
'RA'DHA'; sooth her with my message, and conduct
'her hither.' So spoke the foe of MADHU to the anxious damsel, who hastened back, and thus addressed her companion: 'Whilst a sweet breeze from the hills
'of *Malaya* comes wafting on his plumes the young
'God of Desire; while many a flower points his ex-
'tended petals to pierce the bosom of separated
'lovers, *the Deity crowned with silver blossoms, laments,*
'*O friend, in thy absence.* Even the dewy rays of the
'moon burn him; and, as the shaft of love is descend-
'ing, he mourns inarticulately with increasing distrac-
'tion. When the bees murmur softly, he covers his
'ears; misery sits fixed in his heart, and every re-
'turning night adds anguish to anguish. He quits
'his radiant place for the wild forest, where he sinks
'on a bed of cold clay, and frequently mutters thy
'name. In yon bower, to which the pilgrims of love
'are used to repair, he meditates on thy form, re-
'peating in silence some enchanting word, which once
'dropped from thy lips, and thirsting for the nectar
'which they alone can supply. Delay not, O love-
'liest of women; follow the lord of thy heart; be-
'hold, he seeks the appointed shade, bright with the
'ornaments of love, and confident of the promised
'bliss. *Having bound his locks with forest flowers, he*
'*hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over*
'*the banks of* Yamunà: there, again pronouncing thy
'name, he modulates his divine reed. Oh! with
'what rapture doth he gaze on the golden dust which
'the breeze shakes from expanded blossoms; the
'breeze which has kissed thy cheek! With a mind
'languid as a dropping wing, feeble as a trembling

 'leaf,

'leaf, he doubtfully expects thy approach, and timid-
'ly looks on the path which thou must tread. Leave
'behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy
'delicate ancle, when thou sportest in the dance;
'hastily cast over thee thy azure mantle, and run to
'the gloomy bower. The reward of thy speed, O
'thou who sparklest like lightning, will be to shine
'on the blue bosom of MURA'RI, which resembles a
'vernal cloud, decked with a string of pearls, like a
'flock of white water birds fluttering in the air.
'Disappoint not, O thou lotos-eyed, the vanquisher
'of MADHU; accomplish his desire; but go quickly;
'it is night, and the night also will quickly depart.
'Again and again he sighs; he looks around; he re-
'enters the arbour; he can scarce articulate thy sweet
'name; he again smooths his flowry couch; he looks
'wild; he becomes frantick: thy beloved will perish
'through desire. The bright-beamed God sinks in
'the west, and thy pain of separation may also be re-
'moved: the blackness of the night is increased, and
'the passionate imagination of GO'VINDA has acquired
'additional gloom. My address to thee has equalled
'in length and in sweetness the song of the *Cócila*: de-
'lay will make thee miserable, O my beautiful friend.
'Seize the moment of delight in the place of assigna-
'tion with the son of DE'VACI', who descended from
'heaven to remove the burdens of the universe: he
'is a blue gem on the forehead of the three worlds,
'and longs to sip honey, like the bee, from the fra-
'grant lotos of thy cheek.'

But the solicitous maid, perceiving that RA'DHA' was unable through debility to move from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned to GO'VINDA, who was himself disordered with love, and thus described her situation.

'*She mourns, O sovereign in the world, in her verdant*
'*bower*; she looks eagerly on all sides, in hope of thy
'approach;

'approach; then gaining ſtrength from the delightful
'idea of the propoſed meeting, ſhe advances a few
'ſteps, and falls languid on the ground. When ſhe
'riſes, ſhe weaves bracelets of freſh leaves; ſhe
'dreſſes herſelf like her beloved, and, looking at her-
'ſelf, in ſport, exclaims, "Behold the vanquiſher of
"MADHU!" Then ſhe repeats, again and again, the
'name of HERI, and, catching at a dark blue cloud,
'ſtrives to embrace it, ſaying, "It is my beloved
"who approaches." Thus, while thou art dilatory,
'ſhe lies expecting thee; ſhe mourns; ſhe weeps;
'ſhe puts on her gayeſt ornaments to receive her
'lord: ſhe compreſſes her deep ſighs within her bo-
'ſom; and then, meditating on thee, O cruel, ſhe is
'drowned in a ſea of rapturous imaginations. If
'a leaf but quiver, ſhe ſuppoſes thee arrived; ſhe
'ſpreads her couch; ſhe forms in her mind a hun-
'dred modes of delight: yet, if thou go not to her
'bower, ſhe muſt die this night through exceſſive
'anguiſh.'

By this time the moon ſpread a net of beams over the groves of *Vrindávan*, and looked like a drop of liquid ſandal on the face of the ſky, which ſmiled like a beautiful damſel; while its orb, with many ſpots, betrayed, as it were, a conſciouſneſs of guilt, in having often attended amorous maids to the loſs of their family honour. The moon, with a black fawn couched on its diſk, advanced in its nightly courſe; but MA'DHAVA had not advanced to the bower of RA'DHA', who thus bewailed his delay with notes of varied lamentation.

'The appointed moment is come; but HERI, alas!
'comes not to the grove. Muſt the ſeaſon of my un-
'blemiſhed youth paſs thus idly away? *Oh! what re-*
'*fuge can I ſeek, deluded as I am by the guide of my*
'*female adviſer?* The God with five arrows has
'wounded my heart; and I am deſerted by Him for

 'whoſe

'whose sake I have sought at night the darkest recess
'of the forest. Since my best beloved friends have
'deceived me, it is my wish to die: since my senses
'are disordered, and my bosom is on fire, why stay I
'longer in this world? The coolness of this vernal
'night gives me pain, instead of refreshment: some
'happier damsel enjoys my beloved; whilst I, alas!
'am looking at the gems in my bracelets, which are
'blackened by the flames of my passion. My neck,
'more delicate than the tenderest blossom, is hurt by
'the garland that encircles it: flowers are, indeed, the
'arrows of Love, and he plays with them cruelly. I
'make this wood my dwelling: I regard not the
'roughness of the *Vetas*-trees; but the destroyer of
'MADHU holds me not in his remembrance! Why
'comes he not to the bower of bloomy *Vanjulas*, as-
'signed for our meeting? Some ardent rival, no
'doubt, keeps him locked in her embrace: or have
'his companions detained him with mirthful recrea-
'tions? Else why roams he not through the cool
'shades? Perhaps, the heart-sick lover is unable
'through weakness to advance even a step!'—So say-
ing, she raised her eyes; and, seeing her damsel re-
turn silent and mournful, unaccompanied by MA'D-
HAVA, she was alarmed even to phrensy; and, as if
she actually beheld him in the arms of a rival, she thus
described the vision which overpowered her intellect.

'Yes; in habiliments becoming the war of love,
'and with tresses waving like flowery banners, a *dam-*
'*sel more alluring than* RA'DHA', *enjoys the conqueror*
'*of* MADHU. Her form is transfigured by the touch of
'her divine lover; her garland quivers over her swell-
'ing bosom; her face, like the moon, is graced with
'clouds of dark hair, and trembles, while she quaffs
'the nectareous dew of his lip; her bright ear-rings
'dance over her cheeks, which they irradiate; and
'the small bells on her girdle tinkle as she moves.
'Bashful at first, she smiles at length on her embracer,

'and

'and expresses her joy with inarticulate murmurs;
'while she floats on the waves of desire, and closes
'her eyes, dazzled with the blaze of approaching CA'-
'MA: and now this heroine in love's warfare falls ex-
'hausted and vanquished by the resistless MURA'RI:
'but, alas! in my bosom prevails the flame of jea-
'lousy; and yon moon, which dispels the sorrow of
'others, increases mine. See again, whence the *foe*
'of MURA *sports in yon grove on the bank of the* YA-
'munà! See how he kisses the lip of my rival, and im-
'prints on her forehead an ornament of pure musk,
'black as the young antelope on the lunar orb! Now,
'like the husband of RETI, he fixes white blossoms on
'her dark locks, where they gleam like flashes of
'lightning among the curled clouds. On her breasts,
'like two firmaments, he places a string of gems, like
'a radiant constellation: he binds on her arms, grace-
'ful as the stalks of the water-lily, and adorned with
'hands glowing like the petals of its flower, a bracelet
'of sapphires, which resemble a cluster of bees. Ah!
'see how he ties round her waist, a rich girdle illu-
'mined with gold bells, which seem to laugh, as
'they tinkle, at the inferior brightness of the leafy
'garlands, which lovers hang on their bowers to pro-
'pitiate the God of Desire. He places her soft foot,
'as he reclines by her side, on his ardent bosom, and
'stains it with the ruddy hue of *Yávaca*. Say, my
'friend, why pass I my nights in this tangled forest,
'without joy and without hope, while the faithless
'brother of HALADHERA clasps my rival in his arms?
'Yet why, my companion, shouldst thou mourn,
'though my perfidious youth has disappointed me?
'What offence is it of thine, if he sports with a crowd
'of damsels happier than I? Mark how my soul, at-
'tracted by his irresistible charms, bursts from its
'mortal frame, and rushes to mix with its beloved.
'*She whom the God enjoys, crowned with sylvan flowers,*
'sits carelessly on a bed of leaves with Him, whose
'wanton eyes resemble blue water-lilies agitated by the
'breeze.

'breeze. She feels no flame from the gales of *Mala-*
'*ya* with Him, whose words are sweeter than the water
'of life. She derides the shafts of soul-born CA'MA
'with Him, whose lips are like a red lotos in full
'bloom. She is cooled by the moon's dewy beams,
'while she reclines with Him, whose hands and feet
'glow like vernal flowers. No female companion
'deludes her, while she sports with Him, whose vesture
'blazes like tried gold. She faints not through ex-
'cess of passion, while she caresses that youth, who
'surpasses in beauty the inhabitants of all worlds. O
'gale, scented with sandal, who breathest love from
'the regions of the south, be propitious but for a mo-
'ment: when thou hast brought my beloved before
'my eyes, thou mayest freely waft away my soul.
'Love, with eyes like blue water-lilies, again assails
'me, and triumphs; and while the perfidy of my be-
'loved rends my heart, my female friend is my foe,
'the cool breeze scorches me like a flame, and the
'nectar-dropping moon is my poison. Bring disease
'and death, O gale of *Malaya!* Seize my spirit, O
'God with five arrows! I ask not mercy from thee:
'no more will I dwell in the cottage of my father.
'Receive me in thy azure waves, O sister of YAMA,
'that the ardour of my heart may be allayed!'

Pierced by the arrows of love, she passed the night in the agonies of despair, and at early dawn thus rebuked her lover, whom she saw lying prostrate before her, and imploring her forgiveness.

'*Alas! alas! Go,* MA'DHAVA; *depart, O* CE'SAVI;
'*speak not the language of guile; follow her, O lotos-*
'*eyed God, follow her who dispels thy care.* Look at
'his eye half-opened, red with continued waking
'through the pleasurable night, yet smiling still with
'affection for my rival! Thy teeth, O cerulean youth,
'are azure as thy complexion from the kisses which
'thou hast imprinted on the beautiful eyes of thy
'darling,

'darling graced with dark blue powder; and thy limbs, 'marked with punctures in love's warfare, exhibit a 'letter of conquest written on polished sapphire with 'liquid gold. That broad bosom, stained by the 'bright lotos of her foot, displays a vesture of ruddy 'leaves over the tree of thy heart, which trembles 'within it. The pressure of her lip on thine wounds 'me to the soul. Ah! how canst thou assert, that we 'are one, since our sensations differ thus widely? Thy 'soul, O dark-limbed God, shows its blackness exter-'nally. How couldst thou deceive a girl who relied 'on thee; a girl who burned in the fever of love? 'Thou rovest in woods, and females are thy prey: what 'wonder? Even thy childish heart was malignant; 'and thou gavest death to the nurse who would have 'given thee milk. Since thy tenderness for me, of 'which these forests used to talk, has now vanished, 'and since thy breast, reddened by the feet of my 'rival, glows as if thy ardent passion for her were 'bursting from it, the sight of thee, O deceiver, 'makes me (ah! must I say it?) blush at my own 'affection.'

Having thus inveighed against her beloved, she sat overwhelmed in grief, and silently meditated on his charms; when her damsel softly addressed her.

'He is gone: the light air has wafted him away. 'What pleasure now, my beloved, remains in thy 'mansion? *Continue not, resentful woman, thy indigna-'tion against the beautiful* MA'DHAVA. Why shouldst 'thou render vain those round smooth vases, ample 'and ripe as the sweet fruit of yon *Tála*-tree? How 'often and how recently have I said, "forsake not 'the blooming HERI?" 'Why sittest thou so mourn-'ful? Why weepest thou with distraction, when the 'damsels are laughing around thee? Thou hast 'formed a couch of soft lotos-leaves: let thy darling

'charm thy sight, while he reposes on it.' Afflict not 'thy soul with extreme anguish; but attend to my 'words, which conceal no guile. Suffer CE'SAVA 'to approach: let him speak with exquisite sweetness, 'and dissipate all thy sorrows.' If thou art harsh 'to him, who is amiable; if thou art proudly silent, 'when he deprecates thy wrath with lowly prostra-'tions; if thou showest aversion to him, who loves 'thee passionately; if, when he bends before thee, thy 'face be turned contemptuously away; by the same 'rule of contrariety, the dust of sandal-wood, which 'thou hast sprinkled, may become poison; the moon, 'with cool beams, a scorching sun; the fresh dew, a 'consuming flame; and the sports of love be changed 'into agony.'

MA'DHAVA was not absent long: he returned to his beloved, whose cheeks were heated by the sultry gale of her sighs. Her anger was diminished, not wholly abated; but she secretly rejoiced at his return, while the shades of night also were approaching. She looked abashed at her damsel, while He, with faultering accents, implored her forgiveness.

'Speak but one mild word, and the rays of thy 'sparkling teeth will dispel the gloom of my fears. 'My trembling lips, like thirsty *Chacóras*, long to 'drink the moon-beams of thy cheek. *O my darling,* '*who art naturally so tender-hearted, abandon thy cause-*'*less indignation. At this moment the flame of desire* '*consumes my heart: Oh! grant me a draught of honey* '*from the lotos of thy mouth.* Or, if thou beest in-'exorable, grant me death from the arrows of thy 'keen eyes; make thy arms my chains; and punish 'me according to thy pleasure. Thou art my life; 'thou art my ornament; thou art a pearl in the 'ocean of my mortal birth; oh! be favourable now, 'and my heart shall eternally be grateful. Thine 'eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are

'become,

'become, through thy resentment, like petals of the
'crimson lotos: oh! tinge with their effulgence these
'my dark limbs, that they may glow like the shafts of
'Love tipped with flowers. Place on my head that
'foot like a fresh leaf, and shade me from the sun
'of my passion, whose beams I am unable to bear.'
'Spread a string of gems on those two soft globes;
'let the golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim
'the mild edict of love. Say, O damsel, with delicate
'speech, shall I dye red, with the juice of *alactaca*,
'those beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown
'land-lotos blush with shame? Abandon thy doubts
'of my heart, now, indeed, fluttering through fear of
'thy displeasure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly on
'thee; a heart which has no room in it for another:
'none else can enter it, but Love, the bodiless God.
'Let him wing his arrows; let him wound me mor-
'tally; decline not, O cruel, the pleasure of seeing
'me expire. Thy face is bright as the moon, though
'its beams drop the venom of maddening desire: let
'thy nectareous lip be the charmer, who alone has
'power to lull the serpent, or supply an antidote for
'his poison. Thy silence afflicts me: oh! speak with
'the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay
'my ardour. Abandon thy wrath, but abandon not
'a lover who surpasses in beauty the sons of men,
'and who kneels before thee, O thou most beautiful
'among women. Thy lips are a *Bandhujiva*-flower;
'the lustre of the *Madhuca* beams on thy cheek; thine
'eye outshines the blue-lotos; thy nose is a bud of
'the *Tila*; the *Cunda*-blossom yields to thy teeth:
'thus the flowry-shafted God borrows from thee the
'points of his darts, and subdues the universe. Surely,
'thou descendest from heaven, O slender damsel, at-
'tended by a company of youthful goddesses; and all
'their beauties are collected in thee.'

He spake; and seeing her appeased by his homage,
flew to his bower, clad in a gay mantle. The night
now

now veiled all visible objects; and the damsel thus exhorted RA'DHA', while she decked her with beaming ornaments.

'*Follow, gentle* RA'DHICA', *follow the foe of* MADHU: his discourse was elegantly composed of sweet 'phrases; he prostrated himself at thy feet; and he 'now hastens to his delightful couch by yon grove of 'branching *Vanjulas*. Bind round thy ankle, rings 'beaming with gems; and advance with mincing steps, 'like the pearl-fed *Marála*. Drink with ravished ears 'the soft accents of HERI; and feast on love, while 'the warbling *Cócilas* obey the mild ordinance of the 'flower-darting God. Abandon delay: see the whole 'assembly of slender plants, pointing to the bower with 'fingers of young leaves agitated by the gale, make sig-'nals for thy departure. Ask those two round hillocks, 'which receive pure dew-drops from the garland play-'ing on thy neck, and the buds on whose top start 'aloft with the thought of thy darling; ask, and they 'will tell, that thy soul is intent on the warfare of 'love: advance, fervid warrior, advance with ala-'crity, while the sound of thy tinkling waist-bells shall 'represent martial musick. Lead with thee some fa-'voured maid; grasp her hand with thine, whose fin-'gers are long and smooth as love's arrows: march; 'and, with the noise of thy bracelets, proclaim thy 'approach to the youth who will own himself thy 'slave. "She will come; she will exult on beholding "me; she will pour accents of delight; she will enfold "me with eager arms; she will melt with affection:" 'Such are his thoughts at this moment; and thus 'thinking, he looks through the long avenue: he 'trembles; he rejoices; he burns; he moves from 'place to place; he faints, when he sees thee not 'coming, and falls in his gloomy bower. The night 'now dresses, in habiliments fit for secrecy, the ma-'ny damsels who hasten to their places of assignation:

'she

'she sets off with blackness their beautiful eyes; fixes
'dark *Tamála*-leaves behind their ears; decks their
'locks with the deep azure of water-lilies, and sprin-
'kles musk on their panting bosoms. The nocturnal
'sky, black as the touchstone, tries now the gold of
'their affection, and is marked with rich lines from the
'flashes of their beauty, in which they surpass the
'brightest *Cashmirians*.'

RA'DHA', thus incited, tripped through the forest;
but shame overpowered her, when, by the light of in-
numerable gems, on the arms, the feet, and the neck
of her beloved, she saw him at the door of his flowery
mansion: then her damsel again addressed her with ar-
dent exultation.

'Enter, sweet RA'DHA', the bower of HERI: seek
'delight, O thou, whose bosom laughs with the fore-
'taste of happiness. Enter, sweet RA'DHA', the bow-
'er graced with a bed of *Asóca*-leaves: seek delight,
'O thou, whose garland leaps with joy on thy breast.
'Enter, sweet RA'DHA', the bower illumined with gay
'blossoms; seek delight, O thou, whose limbs far ex-
'cel them in softness. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower
'made cool and fragrant by gales from the woods of
'*Malaya*: seek delight, O thou, whose amorous lays
'are softer than breezes. Enter, O RA'DHA', the
'bower spread with leaves of twining creepers: seek
'delight, O thou, whose arms have been long inflexi-
'ble. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower which resounds
'with the murmurs of honey-making bees: seek de-
'light, O thou, whose embrace yields more exquisite
'sweetness. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower attuned
'by the melodious band of *Cócilas*: seek delight, O
'thou, whose lips, which outshine the grains of the
'pomegranate, are embellished, when thou speakest,
'by the brightness of thy teeth. Long has he borne
'thee in his mind; and now, in an agony of desire, he
'pants

'pants to taste nectar from thy lip. Deign to restore 'thy slave, who will bend before the lotos of thy 'foot, and press it to his irradiated bosom; a slave, 'who acknowledges himself bought by thee for a sin- 'gle glance from thy eye, and a toss of thy disdainful 'eye-brow.'

She ended; and RA'DHA', with timid joy, darting her eyes on GÓVINDA, while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles, and the bells of her zone, entered the mystick bower of her only beloved. There *she beheld her* MA'DHAVA, *who delighted in her alone; who so long had sighed for her embrace; and whose countenance then gleamed with excessive rapture:* his heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb. His azure breast glittered with pearls of unblemished lustre, like the full bed of the cerulean *Yamunà*, interspersed with curls of white foam. From his graceful waist flowed a pale yellow robe, which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily scattered over its blue petals. His passion was inflamed by the glances of her eyes, which played like a pair of water-birds with azure plumage, that sport near a full-blown lotos on a pool in the season of dew. Bright ear-rings, like two suns, displayed in full expansion the flowers of his cheeks and lips, which glistened with the liquid radiance of smiles. His locks, interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated with moon-beams; and on his forehead shone a circle of odorous oil, extracted from the sandal of *Malaya*, like the moon just appearing on the dusky horizon; while his whole body seemed in a flame, from the blaze of unnumbered gems. Tears of transport gushed in a stream from the full eyes of RA'DHA', and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which before had taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed, and departed, when the fawn-eyed RA'DHA' gazed on the brightened face of CRISH-

NA,

NA, while ſhe paſſed by the ſoft edge of his couch; and the bevy of his attendant nymphs, pretending to ſtrike the gnats from their cheeks, in order to conceal their ſmiles, warily retired from his bower.

GÓVINDA, ſeeing his beloved cheerful and ſerene, her lips ſparkling with ſmiles, and her eye ſpeaking deſire, thus eagerly addreſſed her; while ſhe careleſsly reclined on the leafy bed ſtrewn with ſoft bloſſoms.

'Set the lotos of thy foot on this azure boſom; and 'let this couch be victorious over all who rebel 'againſt love. *Give ſhort rapture, ſweet* RA'DHA', *to* 'NA'RA'YA'N, *thy adorer.* I do thee homage; I preſs 'with my blooming palms thy feet, weary with ſo long 'a walk. O that I were the golden ring that plays 'round thy ankle! Speak but one gentle word; bid 'nectar drop from the bright moon of thy mouth. 'Since the pain of abſence is removed, let me thus 'remove the thin veſt that enviously hides thy charms. 'Bleſt ſhould I be, if thoſe raiſed globes were fixed on 'my boſom, and the ardour of my paſſion allayed. 'O! ſuffer me to quaff the liquid bliſs of thoſe lips; 'reſtore with their water of life, thy ſlave, who has long 'been lifeleſs, whom the fire of ſeparation has con-'ſumed. Long have theſe ears been afflicted in thy 'abſence by the notes of the *Cócila*: relieve them with 'the ſound of thy tinkling waiſt-bells, which yield mu-'ſick almoſt equal to the melody of thy voice. Why 'are thoſe eyes half cloſed? Are they aſhamed of ſee-'ing a youth to whom thy cauſeleſs reſentment gave 'anguiſh? Oh! let affliction ceaſe: and let extaſy 'drown the remembrance of paſt ſorrow.'

In the morning ſhe roſe diſarrayed, and her eyes betrayed a night without ſlumber; when the yellow-robed God, who gazed on her with tranſport, thus meditated on her charms in his heavenly mind: 'Though her 'locks be diffuſed at random, though the luſtre of

'her

'her lips be faded, though her garland and zone be 'fallen from their enchanting ſtations, and though ſhe 'hide their places with her hands, looking toward me 'with baſhful ſilence, yet, even thus diſarranged, ſhe 'fills me with extatick delight.' But RA'DHA', preparing to array herſelf, before the company of nymphs could ſee her confuſion, ſpake thus with exultation to her obſequious lover.

'Place, O ſon of YADU! with fingers cooler than 'ſandal-wood, place a circlet of muſick on this breaſt, 'which reſembles a vaſe of conſecrated water, crowned 'with freſh leaves, and fixed near a vernal bower to 'propitiate the God of Love. Place, my darling, the 'gloſſy powder, which would make the blackeſt bee 'envious, on this eye, whoſe glances are keener than 'arrows darted by the huſband of RETI. Fix, O ac'compliſhed youth, the two gems, which form part 'of love's chain, in theſe ears, whence the antelopes 'of thine eyes may run downwards, and ſport at plea'ſure. Place now a freſh circle of muſk, black as the 'lunar ſpots, on the moon of my forehead; and mix 'gay flowers on my treſſes with a peacock's feathers, 'in graceful order, that they may wave like the banners 'of CA'MA. Now replace, O tender-hearted, the looſe 'ornaments of my veſture: and refix the golden bells 'of my girdle on their deſtined ſtation, which reſembles 'thoſe hills, where the God with five ſhafts, who de'ſtroyed SAMBAR, keeps his elephant ready for bat'tle.' While ſhe ſpake, the heart of YADAVA triumphed; and, obeying her ſportful beheſts, he placed muſky ſpots on her boſom and forehead, dyed her temples with radiant hues, embelliſhed her eyes with additional blackneſs, decked her braided hair and her neck with freſh garlands, and tied on her wriſts the looſened bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings, and round her waiſt the zone of bells, that ſounded with raviſhing melody.

Whatever

Whatever is delightful in the modes of musick, whatever is divine in meditations on VISHNU, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, all that let the happy and wise learn from the songs of JAYADE'VA, whose soul is united with the foot of NA'RA'YA'N. May that HERI be your support, who expanded himself into an infinity of bright forms, when, eager to gaze with myriads of eyes on the daughter of the ocean, he displayed his great character of the all-pervading deity, by the multiplied reflections of his divine person in the numberless gems on the many heads of the king of serpents, whom he chose for his couch; that HERI, who, removing the lucid veil from the bosom of PEDMA', and fixing his eyes on the delicious buds that grew on it, diverted her attention, by declaring that, when she had chosen him as her bridegroom, near the sea of milk, the disappointed husband of PERVATI drank in despair the venom which dyed his neck azure!

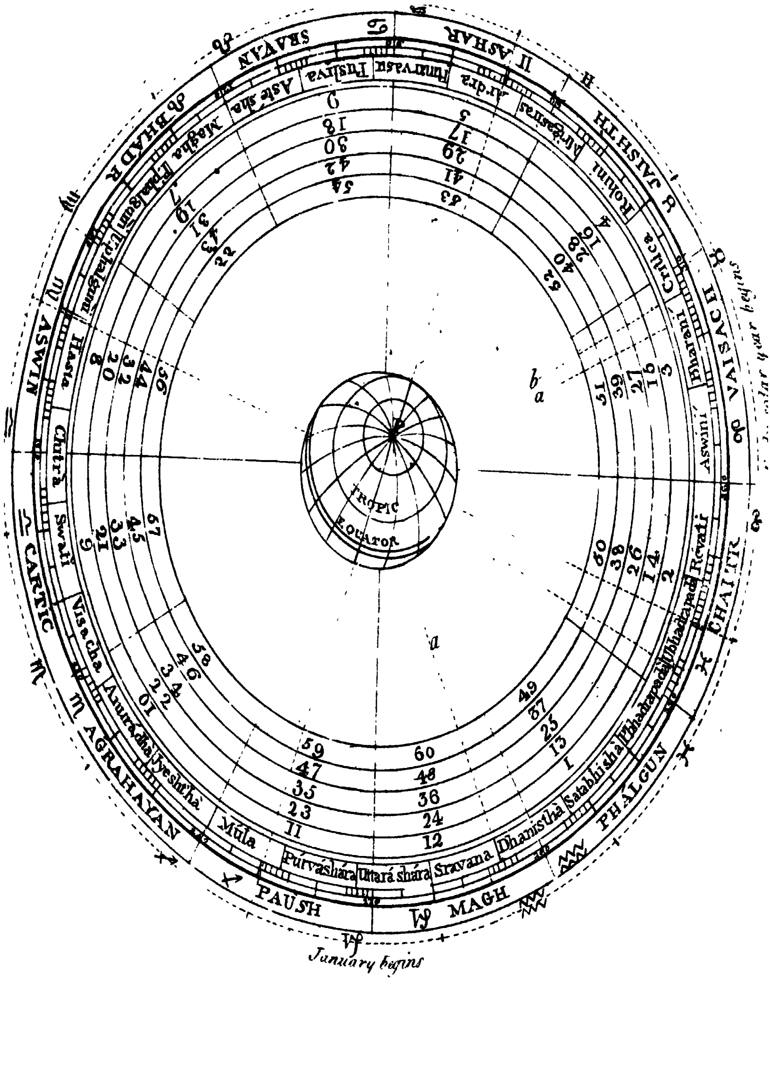
THE END

NOTE *on* VOL. II. *page* 391.

By the PRESIDENT.

A desire of translating the couplets of VARA'HAMI'HIRA with minute exactness, and of avoiding the *Sanscrit* word *ayana* in an *English* phrase, has occasioned a little inaccuracy, or at least ambiguity, in the version of two very important lines, which may easily be corrected by twice reading *ádayàt* in the fifth case for *ádyam* in the first: so that they may thus be translated word for word: "Certainly the southern road of the sun was, "*or began*, once from the middle of *Aslésha*; the north-"ern, from the first of *Dhanisht'hà*. At present the "*southern* road of the sun *begins* from the first of *Car-*"*cata*; and the other from the first of *Mriga*, or *Ma-*"*car*."

THE HINDU ECLIPTIC.



IX.

ON THE

INDIAN CYCLE OF SIXTY YEARS.

By SAMUEL DAVIS, *Esq.*

IN the Philosophical Transactions published for 1790, there is an account given of the *Hindu* cycle of sixty*, which being in many particulars deficient, and in some erroneous, I shall endeavour to show the true nature and computation of that cycle, from the explanation which is given of it by the *Hindus* themselves.

The following two *slócas*, extracted from the last section of the *Súrya Siddhánta*, enumerate the several distinctions of time in astronomical use among the *Hindus*:

ব্রাহ্মং দৈবং তথা পিত্র্যং প্রাজাপত্যং গুরোস্তথা ।
সৌরং চ সাবনং চান্দ্রমার্ক্ষং মানানি বৈ নব ।

চতুর্ভির্ব্যবহারোত্র সৌর চান্দ্রার্ক্ষ সাবনৈঃ ।
বার্হস্পত্যেন ষষ্ট্যব্দং জ্ঞেয়ং নান্যৈস্তু নিত্যশঃ ॥

Bráhmañ

* "In their current transactions, the inhabitants of the peninsula "employ a mode of computation, which, though not unknown in "other parts of the world, is confined to these [the southern] people "amongst

Bráhmaň daivaň tat'hà pitryaň prájápatyaň guróſtat'hà,
Sauraň che ſávanaň chándram árchaň mánáni vai nava:
Chaturbhir vyavahárótra ſaurachándrárcſha ſávanaih,
Várhaſpatyéna ſhaſh'tyabdaň jňeyaň nányaiſtu nityaśah:

and the tranſlation of them is as follows: The *Bráh-*
" *ma*, the *Daiva*, the *Pitrya*, the *Prájapatya*, that of
" *Guru*, the *Saura*, the *Sávana*, the *Chándra*, the
" *Nácſhatra*, are the nine diſtinctions of time. Four
" of theſe diſtinctions are of practical uſe to mortals;
" namely, the *Saura*, the *Chándra*, the *Nácſhatra*, the
" *Sávana*. That of *Vrihaſpati (Guru)* is formed into
" ſixty years. The other diſtinctions occur but ſel-
" dom in aſtronomical practice."

Brahma's year is that whereof the *Calpa* is one day. The *Daiva* year conſiſts of 360 revolutions of the ſun through the eclíptick. The *Pitrya* day is from lunation to lunation. The *Prajápati-mána* is the *manwantara.* The cycle of *Guru*, or *Vrihaſpati*, which is the ſubject of this paper, will be explained further on. The *Chándra* is lunar, and the *Nácſhatra* ſidereal time. The *Saura* and *Sávan*, are the ſame ſolar-ſidereal year differently divided; the ſun's paſſage through each degree of the ecliptick being accounted as a day of the firſt, and the time contained between ſun-riſe and ſun-riſe, as a day of the laſt; conſequently, there are 360 days, or diviſions, in the former year; whereas, the

" amongſt the *Hindoos*. This is a cycle or revolving period of ſixty
" *ſolar years*, which has no further correſpondence with the æras above
" mentioned [of *Bikramajit* and *Salahan*] than that of their years re-
" ſpectively on *the ſame day*, &c."

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latter

latter year is determined, according to the astronomical rules of the best authority, as containing $365^{D}\ 15^{D}\ 31^{P}\ 31^{V.P}\ 24^{A.P}$ of *Hindu*, or $365^{D}\ 6^{H}\ 12^{M}\ 36''\ 33'''\ 36''''$ of our time.

The *Sávan* year may, as the *Hindus* observe, be measured by the following method, which is little more than a translation from the *Sanscrit*.

Upon a large horizontal circle, note the point whereon the sun rises, at any time near the equinox, or when his motion in declination is the most perceptible; and count the number of *Sávan* days, or of his successive risings, from that time, until having visited the two solstices, he shall be returned near to the original mark; then repeat the operation, until he rises next after passing over that original or first-made mark, and compute the proportion which the space, whereby he shall have fallen short of it, in the last observation but one, bears to the whole space contained between the marks made of his two last risings, accounting that space to contain 60 *Dandas*, or one *Sávan* day: the result will be the fraction (allowing for precession) of a day, and it will be the excess of the year over 355 days, or number of times that the sun will have been found to rise above the horizon during such an observation of his progress through the ecliptick. This fraction the *Súrya Siddhánta* states as $0^{D}\ 15^{D}\ 31^{P}\ 31^{V.P}\ 24^{A.P}$, and the *Siddhánti Sirómaní* as $0^{D}\ 15^{D}\ 30^{P}\ 22^{V.P}\ 30^{A.P}$; but it is not probable, that either quantity was determined by so simple and mechanical a method alone, or without recourse to a series of observations made at distant periods.

The *Vrihaspati mána*, of which the cycle of sixty years is composed, is thus described in the comment on the foregoing *slócas*:

বৃহস্পতের্মানং মধ্যমরাশিভোগেনোক্তং ॥

Vrihaſpetérmánaṅ madhyamaráſibhógénóctaṅ.

"It is his (*Vrihaſpati's*) mean motion (*madhyama*) "through one ſign.*"

To explain what is meant by the *madhyama*, in contradiſtinction to the *ſighra*, motion of *Jupiter*, and the other planets, and to ſhow that, by compounding them in eccentrick circles and epicycles, the *Hindus* compute the apparent places of the planets on the principles of the *Ptolemaick* aſtronomy, is not the object of this paper: I ſhall, therefore, only deſire it may be underſtood, that the *madhyama* of *Jupiter* anſwers to his mean motion in his orbit, and the amount of it computed for any particular interval, to his mean heliocentrick longitude in the *Hindu* ecliptick. The rule then for computing his *mána*, or year, of which the cycle of ſixty years is formed, is evident; and it is thus given in the 55th *ſlóca* of the firſt ſection of the *Súrya Siddhánta*.

দ্বাদশঘ্না গুরোর্যাতা ভগণা বর্তমানকৈঃ ।
রাশিভিঃ সহিতাঃ শুদ্ধাঃ ষষ্ট্যা স্যুর্বিজয়াদয়ঃ ॥

Dwádaſághná guró yáta bhagáná vertamánacaih
Ráſibhih ſahitáh ſúddáh ſhaſhtyá ſyurvijáyádayah

"Multiply by 12 *Jupiter's* expired *bhaganas*, (revo-
"lutions,) and (to the product) add the ſign he is in;
"divide (the ſum) by 60; the remainder, or fraction,
"ſhows

* Correct an error in Vol. II. p. 233, in the note on the *Hindu* cycle of ſixty: for *degree* read *ſign*.

"shows his current year, counting from *Vijaya* as the "first of the series."

To apply this rule in finding the *Vrihaspati* year, for a given time, as for the commencement of the current year of the *cali yug*, or when 4892 years of that era were expired, correspondent with the 10th of last *April*, we have the following data.* The revolutions, or mean motion of *Jupiter*, 364220 in 4320000 solar years; and the term expired of the *cali yug* 4892 years, which, for the reason given in Vol. II. page 244, may in this case be used to save trouble, instead of the period expired of the *Calpa*: then, as 4320000 to 364220, so 4892 to $412^{R}\ 5^{S}\ 10^{\circ}\ 21'\ 12''$ which shows *Jupiter's madhyama*, or mean heliocentrick longitude, to be $5^{S}\ 10^{\circ}\ 21'\ 12''$ after 412 complete revolutions through his orbit. But, as in the instance of the moon's node, (Vol. II. page 275) a correction of *bija* is here to be applied to *Jupiter's* mean place at the rate of 8 revolutions in the *máha yug* subtractive. But 8 revolutions in 4320000 years are as 1° to 1500 years; therefore, by a shorter process, the term expired of the *cali yug*, divided by 1500, quotes the *bija* in degrees; and $\frac{4892}{1500}=3^{\circ}\ 15'\ 41''\ 48'''$ is the correction subtractive, which reduces *Jupiter's* mean place to $(412^{R})\ 5^{S}\ 7^{\circ}\ 5'\ 30''$: then $412\times12=4944$, to which add 6, *Jupiter* being in the sixth sign; the sum 4950 is the number of the *Vrihaspati* years elapsed since the beginning of the *cali yug*; which, divided by 60 for cycles, quotes 82 cycles expired, leaving a fraction of $\frac{30}{60}$ to find his current year, which counted as the rule directs from *Vijaya* as the first, falls on *Dundubhi*, which is the 56th of the cycle; and, of this year, the fraction $7^{\circ}\ 5'\ 30''$ reduced at the rate of 2° 30′ to a month, shows $2^{M}\ 25^{D}\ 6^{D}\ 12^{P}$ to have been expired on the 1st of *Vaisách*, or 10th of

* From Vol. II. page 232.

of *April*, for which time the computation is made; and likewise, that the next year *Rudhiródgári* will commence in the ensuing solar month of *Mágha*.

A *Nádíya* almanack for the present year states, that on the 1st of last *Vaisach*, there were expired of the *Vrihaspati* cycle 55 years, 2 months, 23 days, and 10 *dandas*; and that the current year *Dundubhi* will continue until the 7th day of the solar month of *Mágh*: the difference of one day and 56 *dandas*, between this and the foregoing result, is too great to be accounted for by the difference of longitude between *Nadíya* and *Ujjein*, for the meridian of which latter place computations by the *Sùrya Siddhánta* are made; but it is of no consequence to the intended purpose of this paper.

There is another rule for computing the *Vrihaspati* year given in an astrological book named *Jyautistatva*. "The *sáca* years note down in two places. Multiply "(one of the numbers) by 22. Add (to the product) "4291. Divide (the sum) by 1875. The quotient "add to the second number noted down, and divide "(the sum) by 60. The remainder or fraction will "show the year last expired, counting from *Prabhava* "as the first of the cycle. The fraction, if any, left "by the divisor 1875 may be reduced to months, "days, &c. expired of the current year."

The *sáca* years expired on the 1st of last *Vaisách*, corresponding with the expired years 4892 of the *cali yug*, were 1713; then, by the rule,

$$\frac{1713\times22+4291}{1875}=22\tfrac{727}{1875}, \text{ and } \frac{1713+22}{60}=28\tfrac{55}{60}$$

which shows the last expired year of *Vrihaspati* to have been the 55th year of the cycle, named *Durmati*; and the fraction $\frac{727}{1875}$, when reduced, that 4 months, 19 days, and 35 *dandas* were expired of the current year *Dundubhi* when last *Vaisácha* began.

The numbers 22 and 1875 used in this computation, are evidently derived from the planetary periods, as given by A'RYABHATTA; which, according to VARA'-HAMIHIRA, are, of *Jupiter*, 364224 mean revolutions in 4320000 solar years; but 364224 revolutions of *Jupiter* contain 4370688 of his years, which exceed the correspondent solar years 4320000 by 50688; and those two numbers reduced to their lowest terms are 1875 and 22; or, in 1875 solar years, there is an excess of 22 *Vrihaspati* years; and hence the use of those numbers is obvious. The additive number 4892, by the *Hindu* astronomers termed *cshépa*, adjusts the computation to the commencement of the era *sáca*, which began when the 3179th year expired of the *cali yug*; and it shows that 2 years, 3 months, and 13 days were then expired of the current cycle of *Jupiter*, or 3 months and 13 days of the year *Sucla*, which is the third of that cycle. A computation by the *Súrya Siddhánta* for the same period, with a correction of *bíja*, as in the foregoing example, makes 2 months, 9 days, 56 *dandas*, and 12 *palas*, to have been elapsed of that year, and that consequently there were 57 years, 9 months, 20 days, 3 *dandas*, and 12 *palas*, then wanting to complete the cycle, instead of 49 years, as it is stated in the Philosophical Transactions; and, by the same rule, the year of CHRIST 1784 corresponded with the 48th and 49th of the cycle, or *Ananda* and *Rácshasa*.

This mode of computation disagrees with the date of a grant of land mentioned in Vol. I. page 363, of the Asiatick Researches; for *sáca* 939 must have ended in the 3d month of the 53d year of the *Vrihaspati* cycle; but, as the grant in question appears to have been made in the vicinity of *Bombay*, the difference may be accounted for in a manner, that will equally explain the disagreement noticed by Mr. MARSDEN between his authorities and the *Banáres* almanack. We learn from VARA'HAMIHIRA'S commentator, there were

some

ſome who erroneouſly ſuppoſed the ſolar and *Vrihaſpati* years to be of the ſame length. A memorial *ſlóca* known to moſt *Pandits*, furniſhing a conciſe rule to find the *Vrihaſpati* year, mentions aſtronomers in countries ſouth of the *Nermadá* to be in their reckoning of it ten years behind thoſe ſituated on the north ſide of that river; by the foregoing compariſon of the date in the Aſiatick Reſearches with a computation by the *Súrya Siddhánta*, the difference is found to be 2 years; and the *Banáres* almanack for the preſent year mentions, that ſouth of the *Nermadá*, the 45th year of the cycle named *Viródhacrit*, was accounted to begin in laſt *Mágh;* in which month, it is further obſerved, began at *Banáres* the preſent year *Dundubhi*, which is the 56th of the cycle. This difference then increaſes, and from the *ſáca* year 939, when it was 2 years, it had to laſt *Mágh* become 11 years. Now, in the interval of 773 ſolar years between thoſe points of time, the *Vrihaſpati* reckoning muſt have gained upon the ſolar reckoning about 9 years, which, added to the former difference of 2 years, is equal to the difference now actually noticed in the *Banáres* almanack; and we may thence conclude, that the erroneous notion mentioned and refuted by VARA'HAMIHIRA's commentator, ſtill prevails to the ſouth of the *Nermadá*, from which part of *India* Mr. MARSDEN's information on the ſubject ſeems to have been originally procured. But there is no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the *Vrihaſpati* year is any where conſidered as "commencing on the "ſame day with the years of VICRAMA'DITYA and SA'-"LIVA'HAN:" nor is it poſſible that it ſhould; becauſe the latter, which is ſolar-ſidereal, commences with the ſun's entrance of *Aries* in the *Hindu* ecliptick; and the former, which is luni-ſolar, with the preceding new moon in the month of *Chaitra.*

It may not be deemed ſuperfluous here to add VARA'HAMIHIRA's explanation of *Jupiter*'s two cycles of 12 and 60; more eſpecially as he cites certain particulars

ticulars with a reference to the position of the colures as described by PARA'SARA, and explained in the preceding Volume of this Work.

Text.—"*Of Vrihaspati's 12 years.* The name of "the year is determined from the *Nacshatra*, in which "*Vrihaspati* rises and sets (heliacally) and they follow "in the order of the lunar months."

Commentary.—"But if, as it may happen, he "should set in one and rise in another *Nacshatra*, "which of the two, it may be asked, would give name "to his year? Suppose him, for example, to set in "*Róhini*, and to rise in *Mrigasiras*:—I answer, that in "such a case, the name must be made to agree with "the order of the months; or it must be that name "which in the regular series follows the name of the "year expired. According to SASIPUTRA, and others, "the *Nacshatra* in which *Jupiter* rises gives the name "to his year. CASYAPA says, the names of the *Samvatsura Yuga*, and the years of the *cycle of sixty*, are "determined from the *Nacshatra* in which he *rises*; "and GARGA gives the same account. Some say, "that *Cartic*, the first year of the cycle of 12, begins "on the first day of the month of *Chaitr*, whatever "may be the *Nacshatra* which *Jupiter* is then in; and "that *Prabhava* likewise, the first year of the cycle of "sixty, begins in the same manner; and some say that "*Jupiter's* years are coincident with the solar years; "but that cannot be true, because the solar year ex- "ceeds in duration the *Vrihaspati* year," &c.

Text.—"The years beginning with *Cártic* com- "mence with the *Nacshatra Criticà*, and to each year "there appertain two *Nacshatras*, except the 5th, 11th, "and 12th years, to each of which appertain three "*Nacshatras*."

Commen

Commentary.—" The years and their correſpond-" ing *Nacſhatras* are,"

YEARS.	NACSHATRAS.
Cártic.	Criticà, Róhinì.
A'grahayan.	Mrigaſiras, A'rdrà.
Pauſh.	Punarvaſu, Puſhya.
Mágh.	Aſléſhá, Maghà.
Phálgun.	Purvap'halgunì, Uttarap'halgunì, Haſta.
Chaitr.	Chitrà, Swáti.
Vaiſách.	Viſácha, Anurádhà.
Jyaiſhth.	Jyéſht'hà, Múla.
Aſhar.	Purvaſhárá, Uttaráſhára.
Srávan.	Sravanà, Dhaniſh't'hà.
Bhádr.	Satabhiſhà, Purvabhadrapadà, Uttarabhadrapada.
A'ſwin.	Révati, Aſwinì, Bharani.

" Some, on GARGA's authority, hold it to be the 10th " inſtead of the 12th year to which three *Nacſhatras* " appertaïn. GARGA's arrangement of them is thus:"

Phágul.	Purvap'halgunì, Uttarap'halgunì, Haſta.
Srávan.	Srávanà, Dhaniſh't'hà, Satabhiſhà.
Bhádr.	Purvabhadrapadà, Uttarabhadrapadà, Revati.
A'ſwin.	Aſwinì, Bharanì.

" PARASERA's rule ſtates, that when *Vrihaſpati* is in
" *Criticà* and *Rohinì*, the year is - bad.
" *Mrigaſiras*, *A'rdrà* - - - bad.
" *Punarvaſu*, *Puſhya* - - - good.

" *Aſléſha*,

"*Aslésha, Magà* - - - - bad.
"*Purvap'halgunì, Uttarap'halgunì, Hasta,* neutral.
"*Chritrà, Swáti* - - - - good.
"*Visáchà, Anurádhà* - - - bad.
"*Jyésht'ha, Múla* - - - - bad.
"*Purvashára, Uttarashára* - - good.
"*Sravanà, Dhanisthà, Satabhishà* - *good.
"*Purvabhadrapadà, Uttarabhadrapadà,*
Revati - - - - - good.
"*Aswinì, Bharanì* - - - - good.

"On those authorities, therefore, it is the 10th, and "not the 12th, year to which three *Nacshatras* ap- "pertain."

Text.—"*Of the* Vrihaspati *cycle of sixty years.* "Multiply the expired years of *Saca* by 11, and the "product by 4. Add the *cshépa* 8589. Divide the "sum by 3750;* and the quotient add to the years "of *Saca.* Divide the sum by 60 to find the year, "and by 12 to find the *yuga.* The *Dévas* who pre- "side over the twelve years of the *yuga* are,

"Vishnu,	*The Pitris,*
"Súrya,	Viśwa.
"Indra,	Sóma.
"Agni,	Indrágni.
"Twashtá,	A'swina.
"Ahivradna,	Bhaga."

Commentary.—"It is in the *Sómasanhitá* that the "presiding *Dévas* are thus stated. In the cycle of "sixty

* These numbers, 11×4 and 3750 are in the same ratio as those used in the foregoing example from the *Jyautistatva:* the two rules therefore are the same, with an inconsiderable difference in the *cshépa.*

"sixty are contained five cycles of twelve, which five "cycles, or *yugas*, are named

"*Samvatsara*, over which presides -	*Agni.*
"*Parivatsara* - - - - -	*Arca.*
"*Idavatsara* - - - -	*Chandra.*
"*Anuvatsara* - - - -	*Brahmà.*
"*Udravatsara* - - - -	*Siva.*

Text.—"The first year of the cycle of sixty, named "*Prabhava*, begins when in the month of *Mágha*, "*Vrihaspati* rises in the first degree of the *Nacshatra* "*Dhanisht'hà*: and the quality of that year is always "good."

Commentary.—"The month of *Mágh* here meant "is the lunar *Mágh*: it cannot be the solar *Mágh*, "because when *Vrihaspati* rises in 9ˢ 23° 20′ *Súrya* "must be in 10ˢ 6° 12′."*

The years of the cycle and the presiding *Deities* are thus arranged by VARA'HAMIHIRA in six memorial couplets

BRA'HMA.	VAISHNAVA.	SAIVA.
Prabhava,	Sarvajit,	Plavanga,
Vibhava,	Sarvadhári,	Cílaca,
Sucla,	Viródhi,	Saumya,
Pramóda,	Vicrita,	Sádhárana,
		5. Prajápati,

* Because the beginning of *Dhanisht'hà* is west of the end of *Mágh* only 6° 40′, at which distance from the sun, *Jupiter* would not rise heliacally, or be seen disengaged from his rays; but the lunar *Mágh* might extend to near the end of the solar *Phálgun*. Should the moon, however, change very soon after the sun's entrance of the *Hindu* sign *Capricorn*, coincident with *Mágh*, then neither the solar nor the lunar month of that name would agree with the terms of the proposition; which is an instance of an imperfect astronomy.

Bra'hma.	Vaishnava.	Saiva.
5. Prajápati,	25. C'hara,	45. Viródhacrit,
Angira,	Nandana,	Paridhávi,
Srímuc'ha,	Vijaya,	Pramádi,
Bhává,	Jaya,	A'nanda,
Yuvà,	Manmat'ha,	Rácshasa,
10. Dhátá,	30. Durmuc'ha,	50. Anala,
Iswara,	Hémalamva,	Pingala,
Bahudhanya,	Vilamva,	Cálayucta,
Pramát'hi,	Vicári	Sidhárthi,
Vicrama,	Sarvari,	Raudra,
15. Brisya,	35. Plava,	55. Durmati,
Chitrabhánu,	Subhacrit,	Dundubhi,
Subhánu,	Sóbhana,	Rudhiródgári,
Tárana,	Crádhi,	Ractácsha,
Párthiva,	Viswávasu,	Cródhana,
20. Vyaya,	40. Parábhava,	60. Cshaya.

It may be remarked, that, in the foregoing arrangements of the *Vrihaspati* years, *Cártic* is always placed the first in the cycle of twelve; and, since it is a main principle of the *Hindu* astronomy to commence the planetary motions, which are the measures of time, from the same point of the ecliptick, it may thence be inferred, that there was a time when the *Hindu* solar yoar, as well as the *Vrihaspati* cycle of twelve, began with the sun's arrival in, or near, the *Nacshatra Criticà.* That this year has had different beginnings is evinced by the practice of the *Chinese* and *Siamese*, who had their astronomy from *India*, and who still begin their years, probably by the rule they originally received, either from the sun's departure from the winter solstice, or from the preceding new moon, which has the same reference to the winter solstice that the *Hindu* year of Vicrama'ditya has to the vernal

vernal equinox. The commentator on the *Súrya Siddhánta* exprefsly fays, that the authors of the books generally termed *Sanhitás*, accounted the *Déva* day to begin in the beginning of the fun's northern road: now, the *Déva* day is the folar year; and the fun's northern road begins in the winter folftice; and hence it fhould feem, that fome of thofe authors began the folar year exactly as the *Chinefe* do at this time. This might moreover have been the cuftom in PARA'SARA's time; for the phenomenon, which is faid to mark the beginning of the *Vrihafpati* cycle of fixty, refers to the beginning of *Danifht'ha*, which is precifely that point of the ecliptick through which the folftice paffed when he wrote.

There are, befide thefe apparent changes made by the *Hindus*, in their mode of commencing the year, abundant inftances of alterations and corrections in their aftronomy, an inquiry into which might, by fixing certain chronological data, throw confiderable light on their hiftory; and it is fcarcely neceffary to obferve, with how much more advantage an inveftigation of this kind would be made with the affiftance of fuch aftronomical books, written in the *Déva Nagari* characters, as might eafily be had from *Haidarábad* and *Púna*, if the *Englifh* refidents there would intereft themfelves to procure them. Copies of the aftronomical rules followed at *Bombay* and *Gujarat*, might alfo prove of ufe, if NIEBUHR* was not mifinformed, who fays the natives there begin the year with the month of *Cártic*, which has an evident reference to the autumnal equinox, and may perhaps be computed by the *Arfha Siddhánta*, mentioned in Vol. I. p. 261, as accounting the day to begin at funfet: for funfet with the *Dévas* is the fun's departure from the autumnal equinox; and it is invariably obferved in their aftronomy

* "Le nouvel an chez les *Indiens* à *Cuzerat*, que ceux de *Bombay* fuivent auffi, vient du mois *Kartig*, mais à *Scindi* on le celebre au mois *Afar*." Tom. 2. p. 21.

aſtronomy to account the different meaſures of time as having begun originally from the ſame inſtant.

But of all places in *India*, to which *Europeans* might have acceſs, *Ujjein* is probably the beſt furniſhed with mathematical and aſtronomical productions; for it was formerly a principal ſeminary of thoſe ſciences, and is ſtill referred to as the firſt meridian. Almoſt any trouble and expenſe would be compenſated by the poſſeſſion of the three copious treatiſes on Algebra, from which BHA'SCARA declares he extracted his *Bíja Ganita*, and which in this part of *India* are ſuppoſed to be entirely loſt. But the principal object of the propoſed inquiry would be, to trace as much as poſſible of that gradual progreſs, whereby the *Hindu* aſtronomy has arrived at its preſent ſtate of comparative perfection; whence might be formed more probable conjectures of its origin and antiquity than have yet appeared: for, I imagine, there are few of M. BAILLY's opinion, that the *cali yug*, or any *yug*, had its origin, any more than our *Julian* period, in *an actual obſervation*, who have conſidered the nature and uſe of thoſe cycles, of the relative *bhaganas*, or revolutions of the planets, and the alterations* which the latter have at different times undergone; concerning which ſeveral particulars, M. BAILLY, it muſt be acknowledged, had but little information.† What was the real poſition of the planets and the ſtate of aſtronomy, when the *cali* *yug*

* Inſtances in *Jupiter's* mean motion. A'RYABHATTA gave the revolutions as 364224 in 4320000 ſolar years. BHA'SCAR, in his *Sirómani*, 364226455 in 4320000000 ſolar years. The *Súrya Siddhanta* 364220 in 4320000 ſolar years; which latter, by the *bija* introduced ſince, are reduced to 364212 in the ſame period.

† But it is not thence to be inferred, that the *Hindus* did *not* exiſt as a nation, or that they made *no* obſervations of the heavens, as long ago as 4890 years: all that is here meant is, that the obſervations aſcribed to them by M. BAILLY, does not neceſſarily follow from any thing that is known of their aſtronomy; but, on the contrary, from the

yug began, or 4892 years ago, will probably never be known; but the latter muſt certainly have undergone conſiderable improvement ſince the laſt quoted *ſlóca* of VARA'HAMIHIRA was received as a rule; for it ſuppoſes the mean motion of *Jupiter* to be to that of the ſun, as 60 to ſome integer; apparently to 720; as 5 to 60, or as 1 to 12; without which, the beginning and ſucceſſive returns of the cycle of ſixty could never be denoted by the heliacal riſing of *Jupiter* in *Dhaniſht'hà*, or in any conſtant point of the zodiack; and at a time when the mean motion of *Jupiter* was ſo much miſtaken, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the more difficult parts of aſtronomy were very imperfectly underſtood. If the ratio were as 1 to 12, which is implied by the *yuga* of twelve, (for the term *yuga* means conjunction, or coincidence,) then a conjunction of the ſun and *Jupiter* would happen at the end of every period of twelve years in the ſame point of the zodiack, and the cycle of ſixty might begin in the manner deſcribed: but this muſt long ſince have ceaſed to be the rule, or at leaſt ſince the time of A'RYABHATTA; for, if the cycle be ſuppoſed to begin with the ſun and *Jupiter* in *Dhaniſht'hà*, then in ſixty of *Jupiter's* years that planet will again be in *Dhaniſht'hà*; but in ſixty of ſuch years there are, by the data aſcribed to A'RYABHATTA, only 59 years, 3 months, and ſome days of ſolar time: the next cycle, therefore, could not have the ſame beginning, becauſe the ſun would be found more than 90 degrees diſtant from *Jupiter's* mean place, and in 60 years more that diſtance would be doubled. As this diſagreement with the rule could not have been unknown to VARA'HAMIHIRA, who gives the *bhaganas* from A'RYABHATTA as 364224 in 4320000 ſolar years, he may be ſuppoſed

the nature of the ſubject it appears, that the *Cali yug* was, like the *Julian* period, fixed by retroſpective computation; which might ſtill have happened although aſtronomy had originated, which is not at all improbable, in much higher antiquity.

Neither

posed to have only cited what he had learned from other treatises merely as an astrological maxim, his *Sanhita* being a treatise on *astrology*, not on practical *astronomy*; and this conjecture will appear the more reasonable, when it is considered, that notions wholly inconsistent with the latter, and which must have originated in remote ages, when science of any kind had made but small progress, are still preserved in different *śástras*; as in the *Bhágavat*, which, treating on the system of the universe, places the moon above the sun, and the planets above the fixed stars.

To render this paper more intelligible, I have subjoined a diagram of the *Hindu* eclip̄tick, which may also serve to illustrate some astronomical papers in the preceding Volume. Its origin is considered as distant 180 degrees in longitude from *Spica*; a star which seems to have been of great use in regulating their astronomy, and to which the *Hindu* tables of the best

 authority,

Neither LE GENTIL, nor BAILLY, had any other authority for placing the origin of the *Hindu* zodiack in longitude 10s 6o, at the beginning of the *cali yug*, than results from a computation of the precession for 3600 years, at the end of which expired term of the *cali yug*, it coincided with the equinox: it is certain, that the *Bráhmens* in this part of *India* suppose, as their astronomy implies, a similar coincidence, together with a conjunction of the planets in the same point by their mean motions when the *cali yug* began; and since in the present amount of the precession, and consequently in the origin of the zodiack, as well as in many other particulars, the *Bráhmens* of *Trivalore* agree with those of *Bengal*, it is not at all probable that they should have different systems. But M. BAILLY thinks the *Indian* zodiack has had two origins; one of them as I describe it; the other, as he computes it for the beginning of the *cali yug*. It may indeed have had many origins, although there seems at present but one to be found; for it is not in the least inconsistent with the principles of the *Hindu* astronomy, to suppose that, if ever an alteration took place in the mode of beginning the year, some alteration was at the same time made in the origin of the zodiack likewise. The origin of the *Chinese* zodiack is described to be in a part of the heavens opposite to that of the *Hindus*; for *Spica* distinguishes their constellation *Kiv*, which is the first of their twenty-eight lunar mansions; and since it is agreed, that both systems were originally the same, a considerable alteration, with respect to the origin of the zodiack must necessarily have happened in one of them.

authority, although they differ in other particulars, agree in assigning six signs of longitude, counted from the beginning of *Aſwini*, their first *Nacſhatra.* From the beginning of *Aſwinì* (according to the *Hindu* preceſſion, now 19° 22′, but which is in reality ſomething further diſtant from the vernal equinox) the ecliptick is divided into twenty-ſeven equal parts, or *Nacſhatras*, of 13° 20′ each; the twenty-eighth, named *Abhijit*, being formed out of the laſt quarter of *Uttaraſhára*, and as much of *Sravanà* as is neceſſary to complete the moon's periodical month. The years of *Jupiter's* cycle are expreſſed in their order with numerals: *a* is the former poſition of the colures, as explained in Vol. II. and *b*, *c*, mark the limits of the preceſſion reſulting from the *Hindu* method of computing it. The outer dotted circle is the *European* ecliptick, in which is noted the beginning of the *Hindu*, and likewiſe of the *European* year. For want of room, the ſigns are diſtinguiſhed in both with the uſual characters. The two ſtars pointed out by the moſt ſkilful *Pandit* I have yet met with, as diſtinguiſhing *Aſwini*, are β and γ *Arietis*, which diſtinguiſh alſo *al ſharatán*, the firſt *Arabian menzil*; and the latter is ſaid to be the *yóga*, whoſe longitude and latitude are ſtated certainly with great incorrectneſs, as 8° and 10° north; but the error, if it be not owing to tranſcribers, is inexplicable.

The ſolar months, it may be obſerved, correſpond in name with the like number of *Nacſhatras*: this is aſcribed to the months having been originally lunar, and their names derived from the *Nacſhatras*, in which the moon, departing from a particular point, was obſerved to be at the full; for, although the full moon did not always happen in thoſe particular *Nacſhatras*, yet the deviation never exceeded the preceding or the ſucceeding *Nacſhatra*; and whether it fell in *Haſta*, *Chitra*, or *Swáti*, ſtill that month was named *Chaitrà*; and ſo of the reſt. This is the explanation of the month given by NRISINHA, who in the ſame

manner

manner explains *Jupiter's* cycle of twelve years, the names of which could not always correſpond with thoſe of the *Nacſhatras* in which he roſe heliacally.

Of the *Hindu* method of intercalating the lunar month, M. Bailly conceived a right idea from what P. du Champ had ſaid on the ſubject; but he has omitted to mention a curious circumſtance conſequent to it, which is, that ſometimes there happen *two* intercalary months in the ſame year; or, to be more preciſe, *two* lunar months are named *twice* over; thus, as was actually the caſe in 1603 *Sáca*, there may be two lunar *Aſwinas*, and two *Chaitras*; but then ſome one intervening month, as *Agraháyan*, would be omitted, becauſe the change of the moon would not happen at all during the ſolar month of that name. During the preſent poſition of the ſun's apſis, this *ch'che* (cſhaya?) or diſcarded month, is limited to *Agraháyan*, *Pauſh*, or *Mágh*, thoſe being the three ſhorteſt ſolar months; and, by the *Hindu* computation, the diſcarded month will again fall on *Agraháyan* in 1744 *Sáca*.

Bhágalpur, [illegible] *Dec.* 1791.

X.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE METHOD OF CATCHING WILD ELEPHANTS AT *TIPURA*.

By JOHN CORSE, Esq.

IN the month of *November*, when the weather has become cool, and the ſwamps and marſhes, formed by the rains in the five preceding months, are leſſened, and ſome of them dried up, a number of people are employed to go in queſt of elephants.

At this ſeaſon the males come from the receſſes of the foreſt into the borders and outſkirts thereof, whence they make nocturnal excurſions into the plains in ſearch of food, and where they often deſtroy the labours of the huſbandman, by devouring and trampling down the rice, ſugar-canes, &c. that they meet with. A herd or drove of elephants, from what I can learn, has never been ſeen to leave the woods: ſome of the largeſt males often ſtray to a conſiderable diſtance, but the young ones always remain in the foreſt under the protection of the *Palmai*, or leader of the herd, and of the larger elephants. The *Goondahs*, or large males, come out ſingly, or in ſmall parties, ſometimes in the morning, but commonly in the evening, and they continue to feed all night upon the long graſs that grows amidſt the ſwamps and marſhes, and of which they are extremely fond. As often, however, as they have an opportunity, they commit depredations on the rice fields, ſugar-canes, and plantain-trees, that are near, which oblige the farmers to keep regular watch, under a ſmall cover, erected on the tops of a few long bamboos, about 14 feet from the ground.

ground; and this precaution is neceſſary to protect them from the tigers, with which this province abounds. From this lofty ſtation the alarm is ſoon communicated from one watchman to another, and the neighbouring villages, by means of a rattle with which each is provided. With their ſhouts and cries, and noiſe of the rattles, the elephants are generally ſcared, and retire. It ſometimes however happens, that the males advance even to the villages, overturn the houſes, and kill thoſe who unfortunately come in their way, unleſs they have had time to light a number of fires: this element ſeems to be the moſt dreaded by wild elephants, and a few lighted whiſps of ſtraw or graſs, ſeldom fail to ſtop their progreſs. To ſecure one of the males, a very different method is employed from that which is taken to ſecure a herd: the former is taken by *Koomkees*, or female elephants trained for the purpoſe, whereas the latter is driven into a ſtrong encloſure, called a *Keddah.*

As the hunters know the places where the elephants come out to feed, they advance towards them in the evening with four *Koomkees*, which is the number of which each hunting party conſiſts: when the nights are dark, (and theſe are the moſt favourable for their purpoſe,) the male elephants are diſcovered by the noiſe they make in cleaning their food, by whiſking and ſtriking it againſt their fore-legs, and by moon-light they can ſee them diſtinctly at ſome diſtance.

As ſoon as they have determined on the *Goondah* they mean to ſecure, three of the *Koomkees* are conducted ſilently and ſlowly by their *Mahotes* (drivers) at a moderate diſtance from each other, near to the place where he is feeding; the *Koomkees* advance very cautiouſly, feeding as they go along, and appear like wild elephants that had ſtrayed from the jungle. When the male perceives them approaching, if he takes the alarm, and is viciouſly inclined, he beats

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the ground with his trunk, and makes a noise, showing evident marks of his displeasure, and that he will not allow them to approach nearer; and if they persist, he will immediately attack and gore them with his tusks: for which reason they take care to retreat in good time. But should he be amorously disposed, which is generally the case, (as these males are supposed to be driven from the herd at a particular period by their seniors, to prevent their having connection with the females of that herd), he allows the females to approach, and sometimes even advances to meet them.

When, from these appearances, the *Mahotes* judge that he will become their prize, they conduct two of the females, one on each side, close to him, and make them advance backwards, and press gently with their posteriors against his neck and shoulders; the 3d female then comes up, and places herself directly across his tail: in this situation, so far from suspecting any design against his liberty, he begins to toy with the females, and caress them with his trunk. While thus engaged, the 4th female is brought near, with ropes and proper assistants, who immediately get under the belly of the 3d female, and put a slight cord (the *Chilkah)* round his hind legs; should he move, it is easily broken, in which case, if he takes no notice of this slight confinement, nor appears suspicious of what is going forward, the hunters then proceed to tie his legs with a strong cord (called *Bunda)*. which is passed alternately, by means of a forked stick, and a kind of hook, from one leg to the other, forming the figure of 8; and as these ropes are short, for the convenience of being more readily put around his legs, 6 or 8 are generally employed, and they are made fast by another cord, (the *Dagbearee)* which is passed a few turns perpendicularly between his legs, where the folds of the *Bundahs* intersect each other. A strong cable (the *Phand)*

[illegible] running noose, 60 cubits long, is next put round each hind leg immediately above the *Bundahs*; and again, above them, 6 or 8 additional *Bundahs*, according to the size of the elephant, are made fast, in the same manner as the others were: the putting on these ropes generally takes up about 20 minutes, during which the utmost silence is observed, and the *Mahotes*, who keep flat upon the necks of the females, are covered with dark-coloured cloths, which serve to keep them warm, and at the same time do not attract the notice of the elephant. While the people are busily employed in tying the legs of the *Goondah*, he caresses sometimes one, and sometimes another of the seducers, (*Kootnee*) examining their beauties, and toying with different parts, by which his desires are excited, and his attention diverted from the hunters, and in these amorous dalliances he is indulged by the females. But if his passions should be so roused, before his legs are properly secured, as to induce him to attempt leaping on one of the females, the *Mahote*, to ensure his own safety, and prevent him gratifying his desires any further, makes the female run away; and at the same time, by raising his voice, and making a noise, he deters the *Goondah* from pursuing. This however happens very seldom; for he is so secured by the pressure of a *Koomkee* on each side, and one behind, that he can hardly turn himself, or see any of the people, who always keep snug under the belly of the third female, that stands across his tail, and which serves both to keep him steady, and prevent his kicking any of the people who are employed in securing him; but in general he is so much taken up with his decoyers, as to attend very little to any thing else. In case of accidents, however, should the *Goondah* break loose, the people, upon the first alarm, can always mount on the backs of the tame elephants, by a rope that hangs ready for the purpose, and thus get out of his reach. When his hind legs are properly secured, they leave him to himself, and retire to a small distance: as soon

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as the *Koomkees* leave him, he attempts to follow, but finding his legs tied, he is roused to a proper sense of his situation, and retreats toward the jungle; the *Mahotes* follow at a moderate distance from him on the tame elephants, accompanied by a number of people that had been previously sent for, and who, as soon as the *Goondah* passes near a stout tree, make a few turns of the *Phands*, or long cables, that are trailing behind him, around his trunk; his progress being thus stopped, he becomes furious, and exerts his utmost force to disengage himself; nor will he then allow any of the *Koomkees* to come near him, but is outrageous for some time, falling down, and goring the earth with his tusks. If by these exertions the *Phands* are once broken, which sometimes is effected, and he escapes into the thick jungle, the *Mahotes* dare not advance for fear of the other wild elephants, and are therefore obliged to leave him to his fate; and in this hampered situation, it is said, he is even ungenerously attacked by the other wild elephants. As the cables are very strong, and seldom give way, when he has exhausted himself by his exertions, the *Komkees* are again brought near, and take their former positions, viz. one on each side, and the other behind. After getting him nearer the tree, the people carry the ends of the long cables around his legs, then back and about the trunk of the tree, making, if they can, two or three turns, so as to prevent even the possibility of his escape. It would be almost impossible to secure an elephant in any other manner, as he would tear up any stake that could at the time be driven into the ground, and even the noise of doing it would frighten the elephant: for these reasons, as far as I can learn, nothing less than a strong tree is ever trusted to by the hunters. For still farther security, as well as to confine him from moving to either side, his fore-legs are tied exactly in the same manner as the hind-legs were, and the *Phands* are made fast, one on each side, to trees or stakes driven deep into the earth. During the process

tying both the hind and fore-legs, the fourth *Koomkee* gives aſſiſtance where neceſſary, and the people employed cautiouſly avoid going within reach of his trunk; and when he attempts to ſeize them, they retreat to the oppoſite ſide of the *Koomkees*, and get on them, if neceſſary, by means of the rope above-mentioned, which hangs ready for them to lay hold of. Although, by theſe means, he is perfectly ſecured, and cannot eſcape, yet, as it would be both unſafe and inconvenient to allow him to remain in the verge of the jungle, a number of additional ropes are afterwards put on, as ſhall be mentioned, for the purpoſe of conducting him to a proper ſtation. When the *Goondah* has become more ſettled, and eat a little food, with which he is ſupplied, as ſoon as he is taken, the *Koomkees* are again brought near, and a ſtrong rope (*Phara*) is then put twice round his body, cloſe to his fore-legs like a girth, and tied behind his ſhoulder; then the long end is carried back cloſe to his rump, and there faſtened, after a couple of turns more have been made round his body. Another cord is next faſtened to the *Phara*, and from thence carried under his tail like a crupper (*dooblah*) and brought forward, and faſtened by a turn or two, to each of the *Pharas* or girths, by which the whole is connected, and each turn of theſe cords ſerves to keep the reſt in their places. After this a ſtrong rope (the *Tooman*) is put round his buttocks, and made faſt on each ſide to the girth and crupper, ſo as to confine the motion of his thighs, and prevent his taking a full ſtep. Theſe ſmaller ropes being properly adjuſted, a couple of large cables (the *Dools*) with running nooſes are put around his neck, and after being drawn moderately tight, the nooſes are ſecured from running cloſer, and then tied to the ropes on each ſide forming the girth and crupper already mentioned; and thus all theſe ropes are connected and kept in their proper places, without any riſk of the nooſes of the *Dools* becoming tight, ſo as to endanger the life of the elephant in his exertions to free himſelf. The ends of

of these cables are made fast to two *Koomkees*, one on each side of the *Goondah*, by a couple of turns round the belly, close to the shoulder, like a girth, where a turn is made, and it is then carried across the chest, and fastened to the girth on the opposite side. Every thing being now ready, and a passage cleared from the jungle, all the ropes are taken from his legs, and only the *Tooman* remains round his buttocks to confine the motion of his hind legs: the *Koomkees* pull him forward by the *Dools*, and the people from behind urge him on. Instead of advancing in the direction they wish, he attempts to retreat farther into the jungle; he exerts all his force, falls down, and tears the earth with his tusks, screaming and groaning, and by his violent exertions often hurts and bruises himself very much; and instances happen of their surviving these violent exertions only a few hours, or at most a few days. In general, however, they soon become reconciled to their fate, will eat immediately after they are taken, and, if necessary, may be conducted from the verge of the jungle as soon as a passage is cleared. When the elephant is brought to his proper station, and made fast, he is treated with a mixture of severity and gentleness, and in a few months (if docile) he becomes tractable, and appears perfectly reconciled to his fate. It appears somewhat extraordinary, that though the *Goondah* uses his utmost force to disengage himself when taken, and would kill any person coming within his reach, yet he never, or at least seldom, attempts to hurt the females that have ensnared him, but, on the contrary, seems pleased, (as often as they are brought near, in order to adjust his harnessing, or move and slacken those ropes which gall him) soothed and comforted by them, as it were, for the loss of his liberty. All the elephants, soon after they are taken, are led out occasionally for exercise by the *Koomkees*, which attend for that purpose.

Having now related, partly from my own knowledge, and

and partly from comparing the accounts given by different people employed in this business, the manner in which the male elephants, called *Goondahs*, are secured, I shall next entirely, from my own knowledge, describe the methods I have seen employed for securing a herd of wild elephants. Female elephants are never taken singly, but always in the herd, which consists of young and old of both sexes. This noble, docile, and useful animal, seems naturally of a social disposition, as a herd in general consists of about 40 to 100, and is conducted under the direction of one of the oldest and largest females, called the *Palmai*, and one of the largest males. When a herd is discovered, about 500 people are employed to surround it, who divide themselves into small parties, called *Chokeys*, consisting generally of one *Mahote* and two *Coolies*, at the distance of twenty or thirty yards from each other, and form an irregular circle, in which the elephants are enclosed: each party lights a fire, and clears a foot-path to the station that is next him, by which a regular communication is soon formed through the whole circumference from one to the other. By this path reinforcements can immediately be brought to any place where an alarm is given: and it is also necessary for the superintendants, who are always going round, to see that the people are alert upon their posts. The first circle (the *Dawkee*) being thus formed, the remaining part of the day and night is spent in keeping watch by turns, or in cooking for themselves and companions. Early next morning, one man is detached from each station, to form another circle in that direction where they wish the elephants to advance. When it is finished, the people stationed nearest to the new circle, put out their fires, and file off to the right and left, to form the advanced party, thus leaving an opening for the herd to advance through, and by this movement, both the old and new circle are joined, and form an oblong. The people from behind now begin shouting and making a noise with their rattles, *tomtoms*, &c. to cause the

the elephants to advance: and as ſoon as they are got within the new circle, the people cloſe up, take their proper ſtations, and paſs the remaining part of the day and night as before. In the morning the ſame proceſs is repeated, and in this manner the herd advances ſlowly in that direction, where they find themſelves leaſt incommoded by the noiſe and clamour of the hunters, feeding, as they go along, upon branches of trees, leaves of bamboos, &c. which come in their way. If they ſuſpected any ſnare, they could eaſily break through the circle; but this inoffenſive animal, going merely in queſt of food, and not ſeeing any of the people who ſurround him, and who are concealed by the thick jungle, advances without ſuſpicion, and appears only to avoid being peſtered by their noiſe and din. As fire is the thing elephants ſeem moſt afraid of in their wild ſtate, and will ſeldom venture near it, the hunters always have a number of fires lighted, and particularly at night, to prevent the elephants coming too near, as well as to cook their victuals, and keep them warm. The ſentinels ſupply theſe fires with fuel, eſpecially green bamboos, which are generally at hand, and which, by the crackling and loud report they make, together with the noiſe of the watchmen, deter the elephants from coming near; ſo that the herd generally remains at a diſtance near the centre of the circle. Should they at any time advance, the alarm is given, and all the people immediately make a noiſe, and uſe their rattles, to make them keep at a greater diſtance. In this manner they are gradually brought to the *Keddah*, or place where they are to be ſecured. As the natives are extremely ſlow in their operations, they ſeldom bring the herd above one circle in a day, except on an emergency, when they exert themſelves, and advance two circles. They have no tents or covering but the thick woods, which, during the day, keep off the rays of the ſun; and at night they ſleep by the fires they have lighted, upon mats ſpread on the ground, wrapt up in a piece of coarſe cloth. The ſeaſon is then

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so mild, that the people continue very healthy, and an accident seldom happens, except to ſtragglers about the outſkirts of the wood, who are ſometimes, though very rarely, carried off by tigers. The *Keddah*, or place where the herd is to be ſecured, is differently conſtructed in different places; here it conſiſts of three encloſures, communicating with each other by means of narrow openings or gateways. The outer encloſure, or the one next to the place where the elephants are to enter, is the largeſt; the middle one is generally, though not always, the next in ſize, and the third or furthermoſt is the ſmalleſt: theſe proportions, however, are not always adhered to in the making of a *Keddah*, nor indeed does there appear to me any reaſon for making three encloſures; but as my intentions are merely to relate facts, I ſhall proceed to obſerve, that when in the third or laſt encloſure, the elephants are then only deemed ſecure: here they are kept ſix or eight days, and are regularly, though ſcantily, fed from a ſcaffold on the outſide, cloſe to the entrance of an outlet called the *Roomee*, which is about ſixty feet long, and very narrow, and through which the elephants are to be taken out one by one. In many places this mode is not adopted; for as ſoon as the herd has been ſurrounded by a ſtrong paliſade, *Koomkees* are ſent in with proper people, who tie them on the ſpot, in the ſame manner as was mentioned above of the *Goondahs*, or male elephants, that are taken ſingly. Theſe encloſures are all pretty ſtrong, but the third is the ſtrongeſt; nor are the elephants deemed ſecure, as already obſerved, till they have entered it. This encloſure has, like the other two, a pretty deep ditch on the inſide; and upon the bank of earth, that is thrown up from the excavation, a row of ſtrong paliſades of middle-ſized trees is planted, ſtrengthened with croſs-bars, which are tied to them about the diſtance of fourteen inches from each other; and theſe are ſupported on the outſide by ſtrong poſts like buttreſſes, having one end ſunk in the earth, and the other preſſing againſt the

crofs-bars to which they are faftened. When the herd is brought near to the firft enclofure, or *Baigcote*, which has two gateways towards the jungle, from which the elephants are to advance, (thefe, as well as the other gateways, are difguifed with branches of trees and bamboos ftuck in the ground, fo as to give them the appearance of a natural jungle,) the greateft difficulty is to get the herd to enter the firft or outer enclofure; for, notwithftanding the precautions taken to difguife both the entries as well as the palifade which furrounds this enclofure, the *Palmai*, or leader, now appears to fufpect fome fnare, from the difficulty and hefitation with which in general fhe paffes into it; but, as foon as fhe enters, the whole herd implicitly follows. Immediately, when they are all paffed the gateway, fires are lighted round the greateft part of the enclofure, and particularly at the entries, to prevent the elephants from returning. The hunters from without then make a terrible noife by fhouting, beating of *tomtoms*, (a kind of drum,) firing blunt cartridges, &c. to urge the herd on to the next enclofure. The elephants, finding themfelves enfnared, fcream and make a noife; but, feeing no opening except the entrance to the next enclofure, and which they at firft generally avoid, they return to the place through which they lately paffed, thinking perhaps to efcape, but now find it ftrongly barricaded; and, as there is no ditch at this place, the hunters, to prevent their coming near, and forcing their way, keep a line of fire conftantly burning all along where the ditch is interrupted, and fupply it with fuel from the top of the palifade, and the people from without making a noife, fhouting and hallooing to drive them away. Wherever they turn, they find themfelves oppofed by burning fires, or bundles of reeds, and dried grafs, which are thruft through the opening of the palifades, except towards the entrance of the fecond enclofure, or *Doobrazecote*. After traverfing the *Baigcote* for fome time, and finding no chance of efcaping but through the gateway into the next enclofure, the leader enters, and the reft follows.

follow: the gate is inſtantly ſhut by people, who are ſtationed on a ſmall ſcaffold immediately above it, and ſtrongly barricaded; fires are lighted, and the ſame diſcordant din made and continued, till the herd has paſſed through another gateway into the laſt encloſure, or *Rajecote*, the gate of which is ſecured in the ſame manner as the former was. The elephants, being now completely ſurrounded on all ſides, and perceiving no outlet through which they can eſcape, appear deſperate, and in their fury advance frequently to the ditch, in order to break down the paliſade, inflating their trunks, ſcreaming louder and ſhriller than any trumpet, ſometimes grumbling like the hollow murmur of diſtant thunder; but, wherever they make an attack, they are oppoſed by lighted fires, and by the noiſe and triumphant ſhouts of the hunters. As they muſt remain ſome time in this encloſure, care is always taken to have part of the ditch filled with water, which is ſupplied by a ſmall ſtream, either natural, or conducted through an artificial channel from ſome neighbouring reſervoir. The elephants have recourſe to this water to quench their thirſt, and cool themſelves after their fatigues, by ſucking the water into their trunks, and then ſquirting it over every part of their bodies. While they remain in this encloſure, they continue ſulky, and ſeem to meditate their eſcape; but the hunters build huts, and form an encampment, as it were, around them, cloſe to the paliſade; watchmen are placed, and every precaution uſed to prevent their breaking through. This they would ſoon effect, if left to themſelves, notwithſtanding the paliſade is made of very ſtrong ſtakes, ſunk into the earth on the outſide of the ditch, and ſtrengthened by croſs-bars and buttreſſes, as already mentioned.

When the herd has continued a few days in the *Keddah*, the doors of the *Roomee* is opened, into which ſome one of the elephants is enticed to enter, by having food thrown firſt before, and then gradually further on into the

the paſſage, till the elephant has advanced far enough to admit of the gates being ſhut. Above this wicker gate, or door, two men are ſtationed on a ſmall ſcaffold, who throw down the food. When the elephant has paſſed beyond the door, they give the ſignal to a man, who, from without, ſhuts it by pulling a ſtring; and they ſecure it by throwing two bars, that ſtood perpendicular on each ſide, the one acroſs the other thus X, forming the figure of ST. ANDREW'S Croſs; and then two ſimilar bars are thrown acroſs each other behind the door next to the *Keddah*, ſo that the door is in the centre. For farther ſecurity, horizontal bars are puſhed acroſs the *Roomee*, through the openings of the paliſades, both before and behind theſe croſſes, to prevent the poſſibility of the doors being broken. The *Roomee* is ſo narrow, that a large elephant cannot turn in it; but, as ſoon as he hears the noiſe that is made in ſhutting the gate, he retreats backwards, and endeavours to force it. Being now ſecured in the manner already noticed, his efforts are unavailing. Finding his retreat thus cut off, he advances, and exerts his utmoſt force to break down the bars, which were previouſly put acroſs a little farther on in the outlet, by running againſt them, ſcreaming and roaring, and battering them, like a ram, by repeated blows of his head, retreating and advancing with the utmoſt fury. In his rage, he riſes, and leaps upon the bars with his fore-feet, and ſtrives to break them down with his huge weight. In *February*, 1788, a large female elephant dropt down dead in the *Roomee*, from the violent exertions ſhe made. When the elephant is ſomewhat fatigued by theſe exertions, ſtrong ropes,* with running nooſes, are placed in the outlet by the hunters; and as ſoon as he puts a foot within the nooſe, it is immediately drawn tight, and faſtened to the paliſades. When all his feet have been made pretty faſt, two men

* Theſe are of the ſame form and ſize nearly as the *Phands*, but much ſhorter in proportion.

place themſelves behind ſome bars, that run acroſs the *Roomee*, to prevent his kicking them, and with great caution tie his hind-legs together, by paſſing a cord alternately from the one to the other, like the figure 8, and then faſtening theſe turns as above deſcribed. After this, the *Pharah*, *Dools*, &c. are put on in ſucceſſion, in the ſame manner as on the *Goondah*, only that here the people are in greater ſecurity. While theſe ropes are making faſt, the other hunters are careful not to go too near, but keep on the outſide of the paliſade, and divert his attention, as much as they can, from thoſe employed in faſtening them, by ſupplying him with graſs, and ſometimes with plantain-leaves and ſugar-canes, of which he is remarkably fond, by preſenting a ſtick, giving him hopes of catching it, or by gently ſtriking or tickling his proboſcis. He frequently, however, ſeizes the ropes with his trunk, and endeavours to break them, particularly thoſe with which his feet are tied, and ſometimes tries to bite them through with his grinders, (as he has no inciſors, or front teeth;) but the hunters then goad him with ſharpened bamboos, or light ſpears, ſo as to make him quit his hold. Thoſe who are employed in putting the ropes around his body, and over his head, ſtand above him, on a ſmall kind of platform, conſiſting of a few bars run acroſs through the openings of the paliſades; and, as an elephant cannot ſee any thing that is above, and rather behind his head, they are very little incommoded by him, although he appears to ſmell them, and endeavours to catch them with his trunk. When the whole apparatus is properly ſecured, the ends of the two cables (*Dools*) which were faſtened round his neck, are brought forward to the end of the *Roomee*, where two female elephants are waiting, and to them theſe cables are made faſt. When every thing is ready, the door at the end of the outlet is opened, the croſs-bars are removed, and the paſſage left clear. The ropes that tied his legs to the paliſades are looſened; and, if he does not advance readily, they goad him

with long poles, ſharpened at the ends, or pointed with iron, and urge him on with their noiſe and din; and at the ſame time the females pull him gently forward. As ſoon as he has cleared the *Roomee*, his conductors ſeparate; ſo that if he attempts to go to one ſide, he is prevented by the elephant that pulls in the oppoſite direction, and *vice verſa*. The *Bundahs*, which tie his hind legs, though but looſely, yet prevent his going faſt; and thus ſituated, he is conducted like an enraged bull, that has a cord faſtened to his horns on each ſide, ſo that he cannot turn either to the right or left to avenge himſelf. In like manner is this noble animal led to the next tree, as the *Goondahs* before-mentioned were. Sometimes he becomes obſtinate, and will not advance; in which caſe, while one of his conductors draws him forward, the other comes behind, and puſhes him on. Should he lie down, ſhe puts her ſnout under, and raiſes him up, ſupporting him on her knee, and with her head puſhing him forward with all her ſtrength. The hunters likewiſe aſſiſt, by goading him, and urging him forward by their noiſe and din. Sometimes they are even obliged to put lighted torches near, in order to make him advance. In conducting ſmall elephants from the *Roomee*, only one cable and one *Koomkee* are made uſe of. As ſoon as each elephant is ſecured, he is left in charge to the *Mahote*, or keeper, who is appointed to attend and inſtruct him; and, under him, there are from two to five *Coolies*, according to the ſize of the elephant, in order to aſſiſt, and to ſupply food and water, till he becomes ſo tractable as to bring the former himſelf. Theſe people erect a ſmall hut immediately before him, where the *Mahote*, or one of the *Coolies*, conſtantly attends, ſupplies him with food, and ſoothes and careſſes him by a variety of little arts. Sometimes the *Mahote* threatens, and even goads him with a long ſtick, pointed with iron, but more generally coaxes and flatters him, ſcratching his head and trunk with a long bamboo, ſplit at one end into many pieces, and driving away the flies from

 any

any fores occafioned by the hurts and bruifes he got by his efforts to efcape from the *Roomee*. This animal's fkin is foft, confidering his great fize; and being extremely fenfible, is eafily cut or pierced, more fo than the fkin of moft large quadrupeds. The *Mahote* likewife keeps him cool, by fquirting water all over him, and ftanding without the reach of his trunk. In a few days he advances cautioufly to his fide, and ftrokes and pats him with his hand, fpeaking to him all the while in a foothing tone of voice; and in a little time he begins to know his keeper, and obey his commands. By degrees, the *Mahote* becomes familiar to him; and at length gets upon his back from one of the tame elephants; and as the animal becomes more tractable, he advances gradually forward towards his head, till at laft he is permitted to feat himfelf on his neck, from which place he afterwards regulates and directs all his motions. While they are training in this manner, the tame elephants lead out the others in turn, for the fake of exercife, and likewife to eafe their legs from the cords with which they are tied, and which are apt to gall them moft terribly, unlefs they are regularly flacked and fhifted. In five or fix weeks the elephant becomes obedient to his keeper; his fetters are taken off by degrees; and generally, in about five or fix months, he fuffers himfelf to be conducted by the *Mahote* from one place to another. Care, however, is always taken not to let him approach his former haunts, left a recollection of the freedom he there enjoyed, fhould induce him again to recover his liberty. This obedience to his conductor feems to proceed partly from a fenfe of generofity, as it is, in fome meafure, voluntarily; for, whenever an elephant takes fright, or is determined to run away, all the exertions of the *Mahote* cannot prevent him, even by beating, or digging the pointed iron hook into his head with which he directs him. On fuch an occafion the animal totally difregards thefe feeble efforts; otherwife he could fhake or pull him off with his trunk, and dafh him in pieces.

pieces. Accidents of this kind happen almoſt every year, eſpecially to thoſe *Mahotes* who attend the large *Goondahs;* but ſuch accidents are in general owing entirely to their own careleſſneſs and neglect. It is neceſſary to treat the males with much greater ſeverity than the females, to keep them in awe; but it is too common a practice among the *Mahotes*, either to be negligent in uſing proper meaſures to render their elephants docile, or to truſt too much to their good nature, before they are thoroughly acquainted with their diſpoſitions. The iron hook with which they direct them is pretty heavy, about ſixteen inches long, with a ſtraight ſpike advancing a little beyond the curve of the hook, ſo that altogether it is exactly like that which ferrymen or boatmen uſe faſtened to a long pole.

In this account of the proceſs for catching and taming elephants, I have uſed the maſculine gender, to avoid circumlocution, as both males and females are treated in the ſame manner. The former are ſeldom ſo docile; but, like the males of other animals, are fiercer, ſtronger, and more untractable, than the females.

Before I conclude, it may be proper to obſerve, that young elephants ſuck conſtantly with their mouths, and never with their trunks, as BUFFON has aſſerted; a concluſion he made merely from conjecture, and the great and various uſes to which they are well adapted and applied by every elephant.

I have ſeen young ones, from one day to three years old, ſucking their dams; but never ſaw them uſe their trunks, except to preſs the breaſt, which, by natural inſtinct, they ſeemed to know would make the milk flow more readily. The mode of connection between the male and female is now aſcertained beyond the poſſibility of a doubt; as Mr. BULLER, Lieut. HAWKINS, and many others, ſaw a male copulate with a female,

female, after they were secured in the *Keddah*, in a manner exactly similar to the conjunction of the horse with a mare.

This fact entirely overturns what has been so often related concerning the supposed delicacy of this useful animal, and a variety of other hypothesis, which are equally void of foundation. As far as I know, the exact time an elephant goes with young has not yet been ascertained, but which cannot be less than two years, as one of the elephants brought forth a young one twenty-one months and three days after she was taken. She was observed to be with young in *April* or *May*, 1788, and she was only taken in *January* preceding; so that it is very likely she must have had connection with the male some months before she was secured, otherwise they could not discover that she was with young, as a fœtus of less than six months cannot well be supposed to make any alteration in the size or shape of so large an animal. The young one, a male, was produced *October* 16th, 1789, and appeared in every respect to have arrived at its full time. Mr. HARRIS, to whom it belongs, examined its mouth a few days after it was brought forth, and found that one of its grinders on each side had partly cut the gum. It is now alive and well, and begins to chew a little grass.

I have further to remark, that one of the tusks of the young elephant made its appearance, so that we can now ascertain it to be of that species called *Mucknah*, the tusks of which are always small, and point nearly straight downwards. He was thirty-five inches high at his birth, and is now thirty-nine, so that he has grown four inches in nearly as many months. Elephants are always measured at the shoulder; for the arch or curve of the back, of young ones particularly, is considerably higher than any other part; and it is a sure sign of old age, whenever this curve is found flat-

tened,

tened, or confiderably depreffed, after an elephant has once attained his full growth.

Though thefe remarks, as well as feveral others in the above relation, do not come within the plan I propofed, which was merely to defcribe the method of taking wild elephants in the province of *Tipura*, yet I hope they will not be deemed impertinent or fuperfluous, efpecially as feveral of them tend to eftablifh fome important facts in the natural hiftory of this animal, that are not known, or not attended to, at leaft in any accounts that I had an opportunity of feeing.

EXPLANATION *of feveral Words ufed by the Natives who catch Elephants.*

Bundah, a middle-fized cord, fix or eight cubits long, which is put round either the hind or fore legs of elephants, in order to fecure them. From ten to twenty are employed.

Chilkâh is a very flight foft cord, which the hunters at firft put around the hind legs of a *Goondah* before they begin to tie him: this is not ufed for *Keddah* elephants.

Dâugbearee is generally a continuation of every fecond *Bundah* that is put on, a few turns of which are paffed round where the folds of the *Bundahs* interfect each other, in order to faften and keep them firm. When the *Bundah* is not long enough, another cord is made ufe of.

Dooblah is that rope which is made faft on one fide to the aftermoft *Pharah*, then carried under the tail, and

and fastened to both the *Pharahs* on the opposite side, so as to answer the purpose of a crupper, and to keep the *Pharahs* in their places.

Dool is a large cable, about sixty cubits long, with a running noose. Two of them are put round the neck of the elephant, and fastened to the foremost *Pharah*, or girth, one on each side, in such a manner as to prevent the nooses from being drawn too tight, or coming too far forward, and this is effectually done by the *Dooblah*; for whenever the elephant draws back, the *Dools* pull the crupper forward, which must gall him very much, and prevent him from using all the force he might otherwise exert in order to free himself.

Phand is a cable nearly the same size as the *Dool*, the noose of which is put round each leg of the *Goondahs*, and then it is tied to trees or stakes. The *Phands* used for the *Keddah* elephants are only about thirty cubits long.

Phârah, a rope that is put round the body of an elephant, like a girth, and to which the *Dooblah* and *Dools* are connected.

Tooman is the rope that is passed round the buttocks of an elephant, and prevents his stepping out freely; it is fastened to the girth and crupper, that it may not slip down.

Tipura,* *March* 29th, 1790.

* The ancient name of the province was *Tripura*, or *With Three Towns*, which has been corrupted into *Tipra*, or *Tipara*.

THE

THE PLAN

OF A

COMMONPLACE-BOOK.

By J. H. HARRINGTON, Esq.

MR. LOCKE esteemed his method of a Commonplace-Book "so mean a thing, as not to deserve publishing in an age full of useful inventions," but was induced to make it public at the request of a friend. This, perhaps, should have deterred me from offering a paper of the same denomination to a society instituted for inquiring into the more essential parts of literature; yet, since Mr. LOCKE bears testimony to the utility of his method, after five-and-twenty years experience, and since whatever may tend to assist the acquisition of knowledge, cannot, I conceive, be deemed undeserving of attention, I venture to submit the plan of a Commonplace-Book, which has occurred to me, founded on Mr. LOCKE's; but calculated, I think, to obviate an inconvenience to which his is subject.

On considering the method described and recommended by Mr. LOCKE, it appeared to me, that the number of words having the same initial letters and following vowels, might frequently make it tedious to find a particular head, if noted in the Index by a numerical reference to the page only; and that the same cause might render it difficult to ascertain whether any particular head had been entered. For instance; *balm*, *bark*, *bard*, *bat*, *baron*, having, with numerous

numerous other words, the ſame initial letter and ſucceeding vowel, ſeveral references to the pages pointed out by Mr. LOCKE's numerical index might be neceſſary, before any of them, in particular, could be found; or before it could be aſcertained, whether any one of them had been previouſly entered in the book. An index, of which the following is a ſpecimen, would, it is preſumed, remedy theſe apparent diſadvantages. How far it is free from others, will be known from experience.

A ſhort explanation of the method adopted for this book will be ſufficient. One-and-twenty pages, divided each into five columns, and ſubdivided in the ſeveral columns for the number of the folios, the letters of the alphabet written at the head of each page, and the five vowels inſerted in the columns under each letter, will form a ſufficient Index, provided the letters, J, Q, V, X, and Z, inſtead of having diſtinct pages appropriated to them, be written in the ſame pages with I, P, U, W, and Y, which they may be without inconvenience.

The *Index*, thus prepared, is ready to receive the heads of whatever ſubjects may be entered in the book, under their correſponding initial letters and following vowels, or under their initial letters and ſimilar vowels, when the head is a monoſyllable, and begins with a vowel. It is hardly neceſſary to repeat Mr. LOCKE's remark, that "every head ought to be "ſome important and eſſential word or term." If a ſmall margin be left in each folio of the book, and the indicative word or head be written on it, it will be conſpicuous, although ſeveral heads ſhould be included in the ſame folio; but, until it become neceſſary, from there being no remaining folios wholly blank, it is adviſeable to appropriate a ſeparate folio to each head, as, by this means, the ſeveral ſubjects entered are kept more diſtinct, and any additions

may

may be made to the fame head, without the trouble of reference to other folios; for which purpofes it is alfo advantageous to place the folio-numbers on the left pages only, leaving the right-hand pages for a continuation of the fubjects entered on the left, or for remarks thereon, until it become neceffary to appropriate them to new heads, in order to fill the book.

To thefe remarks, which may appear more than adequate to the occafion, it will be fufficient to add, that, if the heads in the Index fwell, under any letter, beyond the dimenfions of the fingle page affigned to them, (which, however, in a book of moderate fize is not probable,) they may be continued on a fecond page, to be prepared for the fame letter at the end of the original Index; for which purpofe ten or twelve blank leaves may be left between the Index and the commencement of the book: and laftly, that if the entries in the book, under any head, fill more than the two pages firft appropriated to it, the fame head may be continued in any fubfequent blank folio, by obvious notes of reference at the foot of the former, and top of the latter, without any new entry in the Index, which would then be unneceffarily filled.

The *Afiatick Society* was inftituted for enquiring into the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences and Literature of Afia; and the humble plan of a Commonplace-Book cannot claim admiffion among any one of thefe objects: it may, however, be confidered as connected with all, fince it may affift enquiries concerning the whole of them. If it be afked, whether fuch a plan be within the local limits of this Society, it may be anfwered, that it is in its nature univerfal: but if any particular plan be defigned in Afia, fuch plan may, with propriety, be tendered to the *Afiatick Society*, for the benefit either of publication in their Tranfactions,

tions, if deemed worthy of it; or of suppression, for the author's sake, if deemed useless. A similar Index, with thirty pages, and ten columns, according to the number of the *Nágari* consonants and vowels, which are mostly in use, would suit a Commonplace-Book intended to comprise the whole extent of Asiatick Literature.

Each of the figures, A, B, C, must be considered as representing a large folio page; and it seemed unnecessary to exhibit the specimen on a more extensive scale. The numbers of the *folios* are supposed to be those of the Commonplace-Book. The names *Arabia*, *Bahmen*, *Cámpilla*, and the rest, are given by way of example, but were not set down with any particular selection.

A.

a	*Arabia.*	fol.	256
e	*Ahremen.*	fol.	256
i	*Ahilya.*	fol.	255
o	*Asoca.*	fol.	254
u	*Aguru.*	fol.	256

B.

a	*Bahmen.*	fol.	255
e	*Beli.*	fol.	255
i	*Bilva.*	fol.	256
o	*Borax.*	fol.	255
u	*Bhúchampac*	fol.	254

C.

a	*Campilla.*	fol.	255
e	*Cesari.*	fol.	255
i	*Crishna.*	fol.	254
o	*Chórapushpi*	fol.	255
u	*Cusha.*	fol.	255

A'so'ca. This is the true name of a charming tree, inaccurately named *Assjógam* in the *Hort. Malab.* vol. 5. tab. 59. It is a plant of the *eighth* clafs, and *first* order, bearing flowers of exquisite beauty; and its fruit, which Van Rheede had not seen, is a *legume*, compressed, incurved, long, pointed, with six, seven, or eight seeds. It will be described very fully in a paper intended for the Society. The *Bráhmens*, who adore beautiful objects, have consecrated the lovely *Asóca*: they plant it near the temples of Siva; and frequently mention a grove of it, in which Ra'van confined the unfortunate Si'ta'. The *eighth* day from the new moon of *Chaitra* inclusive is called *Asócáshtamí*.

Crishna. Properly *black* or *dark blue*, an epithet of the *Hindu* God, whose youthful exploits resemble those of *Apollo Nomius*: he was particularly worshipped by the *Sérasúna*, or people of *Mat'hura*; and Arrian says, that the *Suraceni* adored *Hercules*; but the deity whom he means, was *Hercules Músagetes*, or *Gópinát'ha*, who was the Patron of Science, according to Mr. Bryant, or the 'God of Eloquence, with the Muses in his train.' See *Anal. Anc. Mythol.* vol. 2. p. 74. The *Gópyah* were the Patronesses of Music and Poetry.

Bhu'champac: So the *Hindus* call a beautiful plant, described by Rheede, and admitted by Linnæus, under the names of *Kæmpferia rotunda*. The *Indian* appellation is very improper; as the flower has no resemblance to the *Champac*, except in the richness of its odour. *Bhú* means *ground*, from which the blossoms rise with a short scape, and scarce live a whole day.

Ce'sari,

Ce'sari, a lion in *Sanscrit*, so named from his mane; *Césa* and *Césara* signifying *hair*. Etymologists will decide, whether *Cæsaries* and *Cæsar* had an affinity with those *Indian* words.

Ahilya', the celebrated consort of an old *Indian* sage, named *Gótama*: hence it is the name of a rich *Mahráta* lady, who employs her wealth in works of devotion at *Benáres* and *Gayà*, as well as in her own country.

Borax, a corruption of the *Arabic* word *búrak*, or *brilliant*. It is found in its native state both in *Tibet*, according to Giorgi, and in *Népál*, according to Father Giuseppe.

Cusha, pronounced more correctly *Cuśá* with a palatial *ś*: a grass held sacred by the *Bráhmens* from time immemorial. It is the *Poa Cynosuroides* of Dr. Koenig.

Beli, the *Belus*, probably, of the *Greeks*; for though *bál* signify *lord* in most eastern dialects, yet in *Chaldaic*, according to Selden, it was written *Bel*, exactly as the name of the *Hindu* monarch is vulgarly pronounced.

Co'rapushpi, or, *Thief-flowered*; the corymbed *Scirpus* with awled spikes, so troublesome in our *Indian* walks.

Campilla, commonly called *Camalá-guri*, a plant used by dyers, of a new genus; described by Dr. Roxburgh.

Bahmen, an old *Persian* month, and the genius presiding over it: the name also of a celebrated king and hero.

Bilva,

BILVA, the *Cratæva Marmelos*, but certainly misplaced in LINNÆUS. Its fruit has lately been found very beneficial in diarrhœas.

AHREMEN: So HAFIZ writes the vowels in this name of the *evil genius;* but in some *Arabian* books it is written *Ahermen*.

ARABIA. In this celebrated Peninsula the richest and most beautiful of languages was brought to perfection. The *Arabic* dictionary by GOLIUS is the most elegant, the most convenient, and, in one word, the *best*, that was ever compiled in any language.

AGURU, the true name of the fragrant aloe-wood. The tree grows in *Silhet*, but has not blossomed in gardens near *Calcutta*.

XII.

THE LUNAR YEAR

OF THE

HINDUS,

BY THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING lately met by accident with a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated *Raghunandana*, containing a full account of all the rites and ceremonies in the lunar year, I twice perused it with eagerness, and present the Society with a correct outline of it, in the form of a calendar, illustrated with short notes. The many passages quoted in it from the *Védas*, the *Purànas*, the *Sástras* of law and astronomy, the *Calpa*, or sacred ritual, and other works of immemorial antiquity and reputed holiness, would be thought highly interesting by such as take pleasure in researches concerning the *Hindus*; but a translation of them all would fill a considerable volume, and such only are exhibited as appeared most distinguished for elegance or novelty. The lunar year of three hundred and sixty days, is apparently more ancient in *India* than the solar, and began, as we may infer from a verse in the *Mátsya*, with the month *Aswin*, so called because the moon was at the full when that name was imposed, in the first lunar station of the *Hindu* ecliptic, the origin of which, being diametrically opposite to the bright star *Chitrà*, may be ascertained in our sphere with exactness; but, although most of the Indian fasts and

and feftivals be regulated by the days of the moon, yet the moft folemn and remarkable of them have a manifeft reference to the fuppofed motions of the fun; the *Durgótfava* and *Hólica* relating as clearly to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, as the fleep and rife of VISHNU relate to the folftices. The *fancrántis*, or days which the fun enters a new fign, efpecially thofe of *Tulá* and *Mefhá*, are great feftivals of the folar year, which anciently began with *Paufha* near the winter folftice, whence the month *Margaśirfha* has the name of *A'grahayána*, or *the year is next before.* The twelve months, now denominated from as many ftations of the moon, feem to have been formerly peculiar to the lunar year; for the old folar months, beginning with *Chaitra*, have the following very different names in a curious text of the *Véda*, or the order of the fix *Indian* feafons, *Madhu*, *Mádhava*, *Sucra*, *Suchi*, *Nabhas*, *Nabhayfa*, *I'fa*, *Urja*, *Sahas*, *Sahafya*, *Tapas*, *Tapafya*. It is neceffary to premife, that the *muc'hya chándra*, or primary lunar month, ends with the conjunction, and the *gauna chándra*, or *fecondary*, with the oppofition. Both modes of reckoning are authorized by the feveral *Puránas*. But, although the aftronomers of *Cáfi* have adopted the *gauna* month, and place in *Bhadra* the birth-day of their paftoral God, the *muc'hya* is here preferred, becaufe it is generally ufed in this province, and efpecially at the ancient feminary of *Bráhmens* at *Máyápur*, now called *Navadwipa*, becaufe a *new ifland* has been formed by the *Ganges* on the fite of the old academy. The *Hindus* define a *tit'hi*, or lunar day, to be the time in which the moon paffes through twelve degrees of her path; and to each *pacfha*, or half month, they allot fifteen *tit'his*, though they divide the moon's orb into *fixteen* phafes, named *cálas*, one of which they fuppofe conftant, and compare to the ftring of a necklace or chaplet, round which are placed moveable gems and flowers. The *Mahácalá* is the day of the conjunction, called *Amá*, or *Amávásyá*, and defined by *Gobhilla*, the *day of the neareft approach to the fun;* on

 which

which obsequies are performed to the manes of the *Pitrĭs*, or certain progenitors of the human race, to whom the *darker* fortnight is peculiarly sacred. Many subtile points are discussed by my author concerning the *junction* of two, or even three lunar days, in forming one fast or festival: but such a detail can be useful only to the *Bráhmens*, who could not guide their flocks, as the *Raja* of *Crishnanagar* assures me, without the assistance of *Raghunandan*. So fond are the *Hindus* of mythological personifications, that they represent each of the thirty *tit'his* as a beautiful nymph; and the *Gáyatrítantra*, of which a *Sannyási* made me a present, though he considered it as the holiest book after the *Véda*, contains flowery descriptions of each nymph, much resembling the delineations of the thirty *Ráginis* in the treatises on *Indian* music.

In what manner the *Hindus* contrive so far to reconcile the lunar and solar years, as to make them proceed concurrently in their ephemerides, might easily have been shown, by exhibiting a version of the *Nadíyu*, or *Varánes* almanack; but their modes of intercalation form no part of my present subject, and would injure the simplicity of my work, without throwing any light on the religion of the *Hindus*. The following Tables have been very diligently compared by myself with two *Sanscrit* almanacks, with a superficial chapter in the work of *Abu'lfazl*, and with a list of *Indian* holidays published at *Calcutta*; in which there are nine or ten fasts called *Jayantis*, distinguished chiefly by the titles of the *Avatáras*, and twelve or thirteen days marked as the beginnings of as many *Calpas*, or very long periods, an hundred of which constitute BRAHMA's age; but having found no authority for those holidays, I have omitted them. Some festivals, however, or fasts, which are passed over in silence by *Raghunandan*, are here printed in *Italic* letters; because they may be mentioned in other books, and kept holy in other provinces, or by particular sects. I cannot

 refrain

refrain from adding, that *human ſacrifices* were anciently made on the *Mahanavamí;* and it is declared in the *Bhawiſhya Purána*, that *the head of a ſlaughtered man gives* DURGA' *a thouſand times more ſatisfaction than that of a buffalo:*

Nárēna śiraſà vīra pújità vidhiwannrĭpa,
trĭptà bhawēd bhrĭśam Durgà verſhani lacſhamēvacha.

But in the *Bráhma* every *neramédha*, or *ſacrifice of a man*, is expreſsly forbidden; and in the fifth book of the *Bhágawat* are the following emphatical words: "*Yétwiha* "*vai puruſháh puruſhamédhéna yajanté, yáſcha ſtriyó nrĭ-* "*paſún c'hádanti, tánſcha táſcha tè paſava iha nihatà ya-* "*ma ſádanè yátayantó, racſhógana ſaunicá iva ſudhittiná* "*'vadáyaſrĭc pivanti.*" That is, "Whatever men in "this world ſacrifice human victims, and whatever wo- "men eat the fleſh of male cattle, thoſe men and thoſe "women ſhall the animals here ſlain torment in the "manſion of *Yama*, and, like ſlaughtering giants, hav- "ing cleaved their limbs with axes, ſhall quaff their "blood." It may ſeem ſtrange that a *human ſacrifice* by a man, ſhould be no greater crime than eating the fleſh of a male beaſt by a woman; but it is held a mortal offence to kill any creature, except for ſacrifice; and none but males muſt ever be ſacrificed; nor muſt women, except after the performance of a *ſráddha* by their huſbands, taſte the fleſh even of victims. Many ſtrange ceremonies at the *Durgôtſava* ſtill ſubſiſt among the *Hindus*, both male and female, an account of which might elucidate ſome very obſcure parts of the *Moſaic* law; but this is not a place for ſuch diſquiſitions. The ceremony of *ſwinging* with iron hooks through the muſcles, on the day of the *Cherec*, was introduced, as I am credibly informed, in modern times, by a ſuperſtitious Prince, named *Vána*, who was a *Saiva* of the moſt auſtere ſect: but the cuſtom is bitterly cenſured by learned *Hindus*, and the day is, therefore, omitted in the following abridgment of the *Tit'hi tatwa*.

A'SWINA.

A'SWINA.

I. Navarátrícam. *a.*
II.
III. Acshayá. *b.*
IV.
V. Sáyam-adhivása. *c.*
VI. Shastyádicalpa bódhanam. *d.*
VII. Patricá-pravésa. *e.*
VIII. Mahásthtámi sandhipújà.
IX. Mahánavamì. *f.* Manwantará. *g.*
X. Vijayá. *h.*
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV. A'swiní. Cójágara. *i.*

a. By some the first *nine nights* are allotted to the decoration of DURGA', with ceremonies peculiar to each.

Bhawishyóttra.

b. When certain days of the moon fall on certain days of the week, they are called *acsháyás*, or *unperishable.*

c. The evening preparation for her dress.

d. On

d. On this day ſhe is commonly awakened, and her feſtival begins.

Dévi-purána.

e. She is invited to a bower of *leaves* from *nine* plants, of which the *Bilva* is the chief.

f. The laſt of the three great days. "The ſacri-"ficed beaſts muſt be killed at one blow, with a broad "ſword or a ſharp axe."

Cálicá-purána.

g. The *fourteen* days, named *Manwantarás*, are ſuppoſed to be the firſt of as many very long periods, each of which was the reign of a *Menu*: they are all placed according to the *Bhawiſhya* and *Mátſya.*

h. The Goddeſs diſmiſſed with reverence, and her image caſt into the river, but without *Mantras.*

Baudháyana.

i. On this full moon the fiend Nicumbha led his army againſt Durgá; and Lacshmi deſcended, promiſing wealth to thoſe *who were awake*: hence the night is paſſed playing at ancient cheſs. Cuve'ra alſo and Indra are worſhipped.

Lainga and *Bráhma.*

A'swina;

A'SWINA;

Or, *Cártica.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Dagdhá. *a.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Bhútachaturdasì Yamaterpanam. *b.*
XV. Lacshmípujá dípánwitá. *c.* Syámápujá. Ulcádánam. *d.*

a. The days called *dagdhá*, or *burnt*, are variable, and depend on some inauspicious conjunctions.

Vidyá-sirómani.

b. Bathing, and libations to *Yama*, regent of the south, or the lower world, and judge of departed spirits.

Lainga.

c. A fast

c. A faſt all day, and a great feſtival at night, in honour of LACSHMI, with illuminations on trees and houſes. Invocations are made at the ſame time to CUVE'RA.

Rudra-dhera.

" On this night, when the Gods, having been de-
" livered by CE'SAVA, were ſlumbering on the rocks
" that bounded the ſea of milk, LACSHMI, no longer
" fearing the *Daityas*, ſlept apart on a lotos."

Bráhma.

d. Flowers are alſo offered on this day to *Syámà*, or the Black, an epithet of BHAVA'NI, who appears in the *Calijug*, as *a damſel twelve years old.*

Várànasí Panjica.

Torches and flaming brands are kindled and conſecrated, to burn the bodies of kinſmen who may be dead in battle or in a foreign country, and to light them through the ſhades of death to the manſion of *Yama.*

Theſe rites bear a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine.*

CA'RTICA.

I. Dyúta pratipat. *a.* Belipújá. *b.*
II. Bhrátrì dwitíyá. *c.*
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII. Acshayá.
VIII. Gósht'háshtamí. *d.*
IX. Durgá navamì. *e.* Yugádáy. *f.*
X.
XI. Utt'hánaicádasí. *g.* *Baca panchacam.*
XII. Manwantará.
XIII.
XIV. *Sríhererutt'hánam.*
XV. Cárticá. Manwantará. Dánamávasyacam, *h.*

a. MAHA'DE'VA was beaten on this day at a game of chance by PA'RVATI': hence games of chance are allowed in the morning; and the winner expects a fortunate year.

Bráhma.

b. A nightly festival, with illuminations and offerings of flowers, in honour of the ancient king *Beli.*

Vámena.

c. YAMA, child of the Sun, was entertained on this lunar day by the river-goddess YAMUNA', his younger sister; hence the day is sacred to them both; and

and ſiſters give entertainments to their brothers, who make preſents in return.

Lainga. Mahábhárata.

d. Cows are on this day to be fed, careſſed, and attended in their paſtures; and the *Hindus* are to walk round them with ceremony, keeping them always to the right-hand.

Bhíma parácrama.

e. "To eat nothing but dry rice on this day of the "moon for nine ſucceſſive years, will ſecure the favour "of DURGA'."

Cálicá-purána.

f. The firſt day of the *Trétá Yuga.*

Vaiſhnava. Bráhma.

g. VISHNU riſes on this day, and in ſome years on the *fourteenth*, from his ſlumber of four months. He is waked by this incantation: "The clouds are diſ-"perſed; the full moon will appear in perfect bright-"neſs; and I come, in hope of acquiring purity, to "offer the freſh flowers of the ſeaſon. Awake from "thy long ſlumber, awake, O Lord of all worlds!"

Váráha. Mátſya.

The Lord of all worlds neither ſlumbers nor ſleeps.

A ſtrict faſt is obſerved on the *eleventh*; and even the *Baca*, a water bird, abſtains, it is ſaid, from his uſual food.

Vidyá ſirómani.

h. Gifts to *Bráhmens* are indiſpenſably neceſſary on this day.

Rámáyana.

CA'RTICA.

Ca'rtica;

Or, *Márgasírsha.*

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. Acshayá.

XV. Gósahasrí. *a.*

a. Bathing in the *Gangá*, and other appointed ceremonies, on this day, will be equally rewarded with a gift of a *thousand cows* to the *Bráhmens.*

Vyása.

MA'RGASI'RSHA.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI. Guha shashtí. *a.*
VII. *Mitra septamí. b.* Navánnam.
VIII. Navánnam.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII. *Ac'handá dwádasi.* Navánnam.
XIII.
XIV. Páshána chaturdasì. *c.*
XV. Márgasírshí. Navánnam:

a. Sacred to SCANDA, or CA'RTICE'YA, God of Arms.

Bhawishya.

b. In honour of the Sun. *Navánnam* signifies *new grain*, oblations of which are made on any of the days to which the word is annexed.

c. GAURI' to be worshipped at night, and cakes of rice to be eaten in the form of *large pebbles*.

Bhawishya.

MA'RGASI'RSHA:

MA'RGASI'RSHA:

Or, *Pàúsha.*

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. Púpáshtacá. *a.*

IX. *Dagdhá.*

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV.

a. Cakes of rice are offered on this day, which is also called *Aindrì*, from *Indra*, to the manes of ancestors.

Góbhila.

PAUSHA.

PAUSHA.

I. The *morning* of the Gods, or beginning of the old *Hindu* year.

II. *Dagdhá.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI. Manwantará.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. Paushí.

Paushá:

Or, *Mágha.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Mánſaſhtacá. *a.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Ratantí, or the waters *ſpeak.* *b.*
XV.

a. On this day, called alſo *Prájápatyá*, from *Prájápáti*, or the Lord of Creatures, the fleſh of male kids or wild deer is offered to the manes.

Góbhila.

"On the eighth lunar day Icshwácu ſpoke thus "to his ſon Vicucshi: Go, robuſt youth, and having "ſlain a male deer, bring his fleſh for the funeral "oblation."

Herivanśa.

b. Bathing at the firſt appearance of *Aruna*, or the dawn.

Yama.

Mágha.

Magha.

I.
II.
III.
IV. Varadá chaturt'hí. Gaurípújá. *a.*
V. Srí panchamì. *b.*
VI.
VII. Bháſcara ſeptami. *c.* Mácarí Manwantará.
VIII. Bíſhmáſhtamí. *d.*
IX. *Mahánandá.*
X.
XI. Bhaimí. *e.*
XII. Shtátiladánam. *f.*
XIII.
XIV.
XV. Mághí. Yugádyà. *g.* Dánamávaſyacam.

a. The worſhip of Gaurí, ſurnamed *Varadá*, or *granting boons.*

Bhawiſhyóttara.

b. On this lunar day Saraswatí, here called Srí, the Goddeſs of Arts and Eloquence, is worſhipped with offerings of perfumes, flowers, and dreſſed rice. Even the implements of writing and books are treated with reſpect, and not uſed on this holiday.

Samvatſara pradípa.

A Meditation on Saraswatí.

'May the goddeſs of ſpeech enable us to attain 'all poſſible felicity; ſhe who wears on her locks a 'young

'young moon, who ſhines with exquiſite luſtre, whoſe
'body bends with the weight of her full breaſts, who
'ſits reclined on a white lotos, and from the crimſon
'lotos of her hands, pours radiance on the inſtruments
'of writing, and on the books produced by her
'favour!" *Sáradá tîlaca.*

c. A faſt in honour of the Sun, as a *form* of VISHNU. *Váráha-purána.*

It is called alſo *Mâcarì*, from the conſtellation of *Macara*, into which the Sun enters on the firſt of the ſolar *Mágha.* *Critya calpa taru.*

This day has alſo the names of *Rat'hyá* and *Rat'ha ſeptamì*, becauſe it was the beginning of *Manwantará* when a new Sun aſcended his car.

Náraſinha. Mátſya.

d. A libation of holy water is offered by all the four claſſes, to the manes of the valiant and pious BHI'SHMA, ſon of GANGA'. *Bhawiſhyóttara.*

e. Ceremonies with *tila*, or *ſeſamum*, in honour of BHI'MA. *Viſhnu-dherma.*

f. Tila offered in *ſix* different modes. *Mátſya.*

g. The firſt day of the *Caliyuga.* *Bráhma.*

MA'GHA:

Or, *Phálguna.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Sácáshtacá. *a.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Siva rátrì. *b.*
XV.

a. Green vegetables are offered on this day to the manes of anceftors: it is called alfo *Vaifwédévisì*, from the *Vaifwédéváh*, or certain paternal progenitors.

Góbhila.

b. A rigorous faft, with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the *Sivalinga*, or Phullus.

I'fána famhitá.

P'HA'LGUNA.

P'HA'LGUNA.

I.
II.
III.
IV. *Dagdhá.*
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII. Góvinda dwádasí. *a.*
XIII.
XIV. P'hálguní. Manwantará Dólayátrá. *b.*

a. Bathing in the *Gangà* for the remiſſion of mortal ſins.

Pádma.

b. Hólicà, or *P'halgútſava*, vulgarly *Hulì*, the great feſtival on the approach of the vernal equinox.

Kings and people *ſport* on this day in honour of *Góvinda*, who is carried in a *dólà*, or palanquin.

Bráhma. Scánda.

P'HA'LGUNA:

Or, *Chaitra.*

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII. *Sítalá pújá.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. *Mahávárunî ?*

XIV.

XV. Maunì. *a.* Acshayá. Manwantará.

a. Bathing in *silence.* *Vyása. Scánda.*

CHAITRA.

CHAITRA.

I. The *lunisolar* year of VICRAMA'DITYA begins.
II.
III. Manwantará.
IV.
V.
VI. Scanda-shashtí. *a.*
VII.
VIII. Asócáshtamí. *b.*
IX. Srírámа-navamí. *c.*
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Madana-trayódasí. *d.*
XIV. Madana-chaturdasí. *e.*
XV. Chaitrí. Manwantará.

a. Sacred to CA'RTICE'YA, the God of War.
Déví-purána.

b. Men and women of all classes ought to bathe in some holy stream, and, if possible, in the *Brahmaputra*: they should also drink water with buds of the *Asóca* floating on it. See p. 254. *Scánda.*

c. The birth-day of RA'MA CHANDRA. Ceremonies are to be performed with the mystical stone *Sálagráma* and leaves of *Tulasí.* *Agastya.*

d. A festival in honour of *Cáma déva*, God of Love. *Bhawishya.*

e. The same continued with music and bathing.
Sauràgama. Dévala.

The

The Hymn to Ca'ma.

1. Hail, god of the flowery bow; hail, warrior with a fish on thy banner; hail, powerful divinity, who causeth the firmness of the sage to forsake him, and subduest the guardian deities of eight regions!

2. O, Candarpa, thou son of Ma'dhava! O, Ma'ra, thou foe of Sambhara! Glory be to thee, who lovest the goddess Reti; to thee, by whom all worlds are subdued; to thee, who springest from the heart!

3. Glory be to Madana, to Ca'ma; to Him who is formed as the God of Gods; to Him, by whom Brahma', Vishnu, Siva, Indra, are filled with emotions of rapture!

4. May all my mental cares be removed, all my corporeal sufferings terminate! May the object of my soul be attained, and my felicity continue for ever!

Bhawishya purána.

Chaitra:

Chaitra:

Or, *Vaisác'ha.*

I.
II. *Dagdhá.*
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Váruni. *a.*
XIV. Angáraca dinam. *b.*
XV.

a. So called from *Váruna*, or the lunar constellation *Satabhishà.* When it falls on *Saturday*, it is named *Mahávárunì.* Bathing by day and at night in the *Gangà.*

Scánda.

b. Sacred, I believe, to the planet *Mangala.* "A "branch of *Snuhì (Euphorbia)* in a whitened vessel, "placed with a red flag on the house-top, on the "fourteenth of the dark half *Chaitra*, drives away "sin and disease."

Rájamártanda.

VAISA'C'HA.

I.

II.

III. Acshayá tritíyá. *a.* Yugádyá. *b.* *Paraśuráma.*

IV.

V.

VI. Dagdhá.

VII. *Jahnu septamí.*

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. Pipítaca dwádasí. *c.*

XIII.

XIV. *Nrĭsinha chaturdasí.*

XV. Vaiśac'hí. Dánamávasyacam.

a. Gifts on this day of water and grain, especially of *barley*, with oblations to CRISHNA of perfumes, and other religious rites, produce fruit *without end* in the next world.

Scánda. Bráhma. Bháwishya.

b. The

b. The first day of the *Satya yuga*.

Bráhma. Vaishnava.

" Water and oil of *tila*, offered on the *Yugádyás* to
" the *Pitrĭs*, or progenitors of mankind, are equal to
" obsequies continued for a thousand years."

Vishnu-purána.

This was also the day on which the river *Gangá* flowed from the foot of VISHNU down upon *Himálaya*, where she was received on the head of SIVA, and led afterwards to the ocean by king *Bhágírat'ha*: hence adoration is now paid to *Gangá*, *Himálaya*, *Sancara*, and his mountain *Cailasa*; nor must *Bhágírat'ha* be neglected.

Bráhma.

c. Libations to the manes.

Raghunandan.

Note on p. 275.

Dólayátra. b.

Compare this holiday, and the superstition on the *fourth* of *Bhádra*, with the two *Egyptian* festivals mentioned by PLUTARCH; one called the *entrance of* OSIRIS *into the Moon*, and the other, *his confinement or enclosure in an Ark*

The people usually claim *four* other days for their sports, and sprinkle one another with a *red powder*, in imitation of vernal flowers; it is commonly made with the mucilaginous root of a fragrant plant, coloured with *Bakkam*, or *Sappan*-wood, a little alum being added to extract and fix the redness.

VAISA'C'HA:

Or, *Jyaisht'ha.*

I.

II.

III.

IV. Dagdhá.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV. Sávitrí vratam. *a.*

XV.

a. A fast, with ceremonies by women, at the roots of the *Indian* fig-tree, to preserve them from widowhood.

Párasara. Rájamártanda. Critya chintámeni.

JYAISHT'HA.

Jyaisht'ha.

I.

II.

III. Rembhá tritíyá. *a.*

IV.

V.

VI. Aranya ſhaſhtí. *b.*

VII. *Acſhayá.*

VIII.

IX.

X. Daśahará. *c.*

XI. *Nirjalaícádaśí.* *d.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV. *Champaca chaturśí.* *e.*

XV. Jyaiſht'hí. Manwantará.

a. On this day of the moon the *Hindu* women imitate Rembha', the ſea-born goddeſs of beauty, who bathed on the ſame day, with particular ceremonies.

Bhawiſhyóttara.

b. Women

b. Women walk in the *foreſts* with a fan in one hand, and eat certain vegetables, in hope of beautiful children.

Rájamártanda.

See the account given by PLINY of the *Druidical* miſletoe, or *viſcum*, which was to be gathered when the moon was *ſix* days old, as a preſervative from *ſterility*.

c. The word means *ten-removing*, or *removing ten ſins*, an epithet of *Gangá*, who effaces *ten* ſins, how heinous ſoever, committed in *ten* previous births by ſuch as bathe in her waters.

Brahmá-vaiverta.

A Couplet by SANC'HA.

"On the tenth of *Jyaiſht'ha*, in the bright half of "the month, on the day of MANGALA, Son of the "Earth, when the moon was in *Haſta*, this daughter "of *Jahnu* burſt from the rocks, and flowed over the "land inhabited by mortals: on this lunar day, there-"fore, ſhe waſhes off ten ſins (thus have the venerable "ſages declared) and gives an hundred times more "felicity than could be attained by a myriad of "*Aſwamédhas*, or *ſacrifices of a horſe.*"

d. A faſt ſo ſtrict, that even *water* muſt *not* be taſted.

e. A feſtival, I ſuppoſe, with the flowers of the *Champaca.*

JYAISHT'HA.

Or, *A'shárha.*

I.

II.

III.

IV. *Dagdhá.*

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X. Ambuváchi pradam, *a.*

XI.

XII.

XIII. Ambuváchí tyágah.

XIV.

XV. Gósahasrí.

a. The Earth in her courses till the thirteenth.

Jyótish.

A'SHA'D'HA.

A'SHA'D'HA.

I.

II. Rat'ha Yátra. *a.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X. Manwantará.

XI. Sayanaicádasí. Rátrau śayanam. *b.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. A'shárhi. Manwantará. Dánamávasyacam.

a. The image of CRISHNA, in the character of *Jagannát'ha*, or Lord of the Universe, is borne by day in a *car*, together with those of BALARA'MA and SUBHADRA': when the moon rises the feast begins, but must end as soon as it sets. *Scánda.*

b. The *night* of the Gods beginning with the summer solstice, VISHNU reposes *four* months on the serpent SE'SHA. *Bhagávata. Mátsya. Váráha.*

A'SHA'D'HA:

A'SHA'D'HA:

Or, *Srávana.*

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V. Manaſápanchamì. *a.*

VI. *Dagdhá.*

VII.

VIII. Manwantará.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV.

a. In honour of DE'VI, the goddeſs of Nature, ſurnamed *Manaſá*, who, while VISHNU and all the Gods were ſleeping, ſat in the ſhape of a ſerpent on a branch of *Snuhì*, to preſerve mankind from the venom of ſnakes. *Gáruda. Dévi-purána.*

SRA'VANA.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V. Nágapanchamí. *a.*
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV. S'rávaní.

a. Sacred to the Demi-gods in the form of *Serpents*, who are enumerated in the *Padma* and *Gáruda puránas*. Doors of houfes are fmeared with cow-dung and *Nimba*-leaves, as a prefervative from poifonous reptiles.

Bhawifhya.
Retnácara.

Both in the *Pádma* and *Gâruda*, we find the ferpent *Cáliya*, whom CRISHNA flew in his childhood, among the deities worfhipped on this day; as the *Pythian* fnake, according to CLEMENS, was adored with APOLLO at *Delphi*.

SRA'VANA:

SRA'VANA:

Or, *Bhádra.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII. *Dagdhá.*
VIII. Criſhnajanmáſhtami. *a.* Jayanti. *b.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Yugádyá. *c.*
XIV.
XV. Amáváſyá.

a. The birth-day of CRISHNA, ſon of MAHA'MA'YA, in the form of DE'VACI'.

Vaśiſht'ha. Bhawiſhyóttara.

b. A ſtrict faſt from midnight. In the book, entitled *Dwaita nirnaya*, it is ſaid, that the *Jayanti yóga* happens whenever the moon is in *Róhini*, on the *eighth* of any dark fortnight: but VARA'HA MIHIRA confines it to the time when the Sun is in *Sinha.* This faſt, during which CHANDRA and RO'HINI' are worſhipped, is alſo called *Róhinì vrata.*

Bráhmánda.

c. The firſt day of the *Dwápara Yuga.*

Bráhma.

BHA'DRA.

I.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV. *Heritálicà. Ganésa chaturt'hí.* Nashtachandra. *a.*

V. *Rǐshi panchamì.*

VI.

VII. Acshayá lalità. *b.*

VIII. Dúrváshtamì. *c.*

IX.

X.

XI. Párswaperivertanam. *d.*

XII. S'acrótt'hánam. *e.*

XIII.

XIV. Anantra vratam. *f.*

XV. Bhádri.

a. CRISHNA, falsely accused in his childhood of having stolen a gem from PRASE'NA, who had been killed by a lion, *hid himself in the moon*; to see which on the two *fourth* days of *Bhádra* is inauspicious.

Bráhma. Bhójadéva.

b. A

b. A ceremony, called *Cuccutí vratam*, performed by women, in honour of Siva and Durgá.

Bhawishya.

c. "The family of him who performs holy rites "on this lunar day, shall flourish and increase like "the grass *dúrvà*." It is the *rayed Agrostis*.

Bhawishyóttara.

d. Vishnu sleeping, turns on his side.

Mátsya.
Bhawishya.

e. Princes erect poles adorned with flowers, by way of standards, in honour of Indra. The ceremonies are minutely described in the *Cálicá-purána*.

f. Sacred to Vishnu, with the title of *Ananta*, or Infinite.

Bhawishyóttara.

BHA'DRA:

Or, *A'ſwina.*

I. Aparapacſha. *Bráhma ſávítrì.*
II.
III.
IV. Naſhta-chandra.
V.
VI.
VII. Agaſtyódayah. *a.*
VIII.
IX. Bódhanam. *b.*
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. *Maghátrayódasì ſráddham.*
XIV.
XV. Mahálayá. Amávásyá.

a. Three days before the ſun enters the conſtellation of *Canyá*, let the people who dwell in *Gaura* offer a diſh of flowers to AGASTYA.

Bráhma-vaiverta.

Having

Having poured water into a sea-shell, let the votary fill it with white flowers, and unground rice: then, turning to the south, let him offer it with this incantation: 'Hail, CUMBHAYO'NI, born in the sight 'of MITRA and VARUNA, bright as the blossom of 'the grass *cása;* thou, who sprangest from AGNI and 'MA'RUTA.' *Cása* is the *spontaneous Saccharum.*

Nárasinha.

This is properly a festival of the solar year, in honour of the sage AGASTYA, supposed, after his death, to preside over the star *Canopus.*

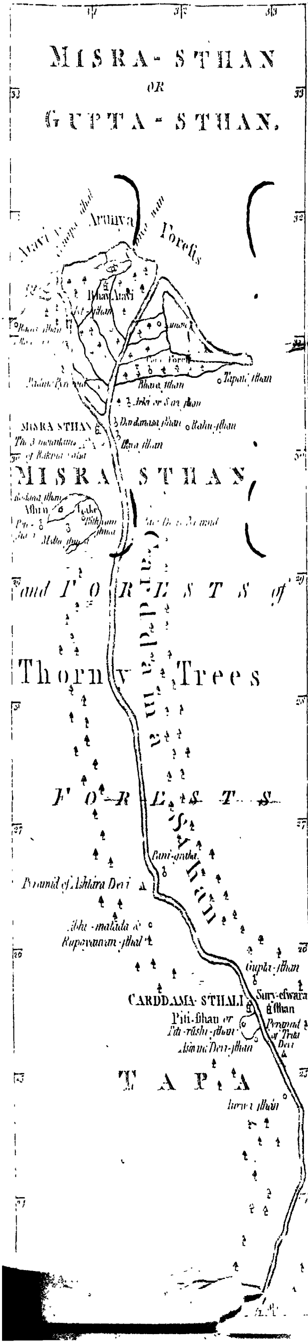
b. Some begin on this day, and continue till the *ninth* of the new moon, the great festival called *Durgótsava,* in honour of DURGA', the Goddess of Nature; who is now *awakened* with sports and music, as she was waked in the beginning by BRA'HMA during the night of the Gods. *Cálicá-purána.*

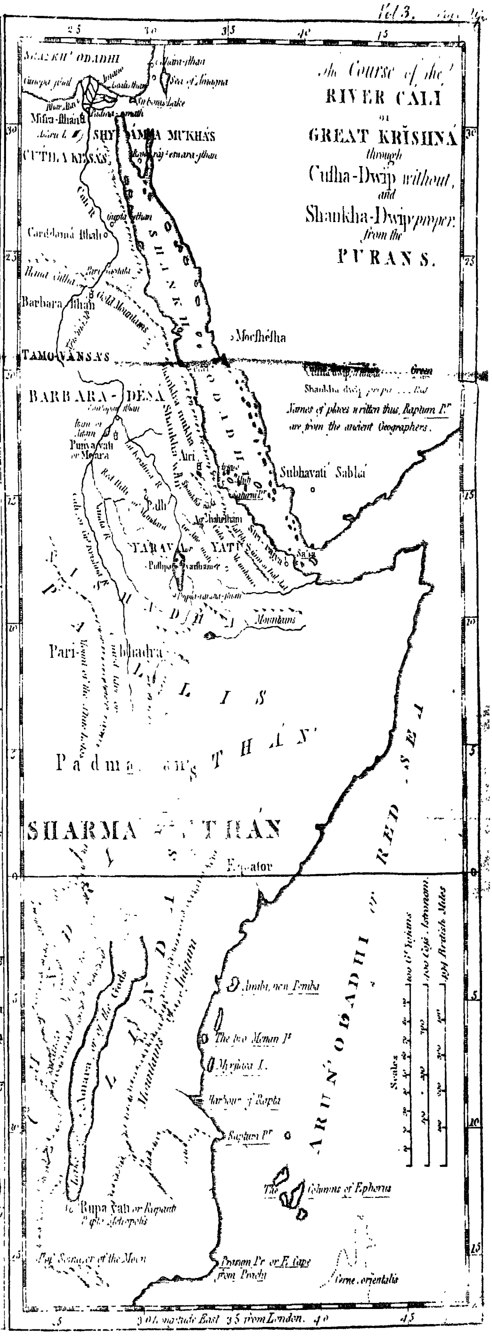
Note on p. 265. Utt'hánaicádasí. *g.*

In one almanack I see on this day *Tulasì-viváha,* or the marriage of TULASI'; but have no other authority for mentioning such a festival. TULASI' was a nymph beloved by CRISHNA, but transformed by him into the *Parnása,* or black *Ocymum,* which commonly bears her name.

General Note.

If the festivals of the old *Greeks, Romans, Persians, Egyptians,* and *Goths,* could be arranged with exactness in the same form with these *Indian* Tables, there would be found, I am persuaded, a striking resemblance among them; and an attentive comparison of them all, might throw great light on the religion, and, perhaps, on the history, of the primitive world.


MISRA-STHAN
OR
GUPTA-STHAN.
Aruuya Forests
MISRA STHAN
and FORESTS of
Thorny Trees
FORESTS
CARDDAMA STHALI
TAPA


The Course of the
RIVER CALI
or
GREAT KRISHNA
through
Cusha-Dwip without,
and
Shankha-Dwip proper
from the
PURANS.
Names of places written thus, Raptum P.^r are from the ancient Geographers.
TAMO-VANSAS
BARBARA-DESA
Barbara-sthan
Carddama sthan
Gold Mountains
Mosshesha
Subhavati Sabla
YARAVA YATS
Pari-bhadra
Padma THAN
SHARMA THAN
Equator
Amara or of the Gods
Mountains
Rupa vati or Rupanti
Ambi, now Pemba
The two Menun I.^s
Harbour of Rapta
Raptum P.^r
The Columns of Ephorus
Prason Pr or E. Cape
Cerne orientalis
ARUN' ODADHI
RED SEA
Scales
British Miles
Longitude East 35 from London. 40

XIII.

ON EGYPT,

AND

Other COUNTRIES *adjacent to the* CA'LI' RIVER, *or* NILE *of* ETHIOPIA.

FROM THE ANCIENT BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

BY

Lieutenant FRANCIS WILFORD.

SECTION THE FIRST.

MY original deſign was to compoſe a diſſertation entirely *geographical*, on *Egypt* and other Countries bordering upon the *Nile*; but as the *Hindus* have no regular work on the ſubject of geography, or none at leaſt that ever came to my knowledge, I was under a neceſſity of extracting my materials from their hiſtorical poems, or, as they may be called more properly, their legendary tales; and in them I could not expect to meet with requiſite data for aſcertaining the relative ſituations of places: I was obliged, therefore, to ſtudy ſuch parts of their ancient books as contained geographical information; and to follow the track, real or imaginary, of their deities and heroes; comparing all their legends with ſuch accounts of holy places in the regions of the weſt, as have been preſerved by the *Greek* mythologiſts; and endeavouring to prove the identity of places by the ſimilarity of *names*, and of *remarkable circumſtances*; a laborious though neceſſary operation, by which the progreſs of my work has been greatly retarded.

The

The mythology of the *Hindus* is often inconſiſtent and contradictory, and the ſame tale is related many different ways. Their phyſiology, aſtronomy, and hiſtory, are involved in allegories and enigmas, which cannot but ſeem extravagant and ridiculous: nor could any thing render them ſupportable, but a belief that moſt of them have a recondite meaning; though many of them had, perhaps, no firmer baſis than the heated imagination of deluded fanaticks, or of hypocrites intereſted in the worſhip of ſome particular deity. Should a key to their eighteen *Puránas* exiſt, it is more than probable that the wards of it would be too intricate, or too ſtiff with the ruſt of time, for any uſeful purpoſe; yet, as a near coincidence between *proper names* and *circumſtances* could ſcarce have been accidental, ſome light might naturally be expected from the compariſon which I reſolved to make. It is true, that an accurate knowledge of the old northern and weſtern mythology, of the *Coptick* and other dialects now uſed in countries adjacent to the *Nile*, of eaſtern languages, and, above all, of *Sanſcrit*, may be thought eſſentially neceſſary for a work of this nature; and unfortunately I poſſeſs few of theſe advantages; yet it will not, I hope, be conſidered as preſumptuous, if I preſent the *Aſiatic Society* with the reſult of my inquiries, deſiring them to believe, that when I ſeem to make any poſitive aſſertion, I only declare my own humble opinion, but never mean to write in a dogmatical ſtyle, or to intimate an idea, that my own conviction ſhould preclude in any degree the full exerciſe of their judgment

So ſtriking, in my apprehenſion, is the ſimilarity between ſeveral *Hindu* legends and numerous paſſages in Greek authors concerning the *Nile*, and the countries on its borders, that, in order to evince their identity, or at leaſt their affinity, little more is requiſite than barely to exhibit a comparative view of them. The *Hindus* have no ancient civil hiſtory, nor had the

Egyptians

Egyptians any work purely hiſtorical; but there is abundant reaſon to believe that the *Hindus* have preſerved the religious fables of *Egypt*, though we cannot yet poſitively ſay by what means the *Bráhmens* acquired a knowledge of them. It appears, indeed, that a free communication formerly ſubſiſted between *Egypt* and *India*, ſince PTOLEMY acknowledges himſelf indebted for much information to many learned *Indians* whom he had ſeen at *Alexandria;* and LUCIAN informs us, that pilgrims from *India* reſorted to *Hierapolis* in *Syria;* which place is called in the *Puránas*, at leaſt as it appears to me, *Mahábhágá*, or the ſtation of the Goddeſs *Dévì*, with that epithet. Even to this day the *Hindus* occaſionally viſit, as I am aſſured, the two *Jwálá-muc'his*, or Springs of Naphtha, in *Cuśha*-dwípa *within;* the firſt of which, dedicated to the ſame goddeſs, with the epithet *Anáyáſá*, is not far from the *Tigris;* and STRABO mentions a temple, on that very ſpot, inſcribed to the goddeſs *Anaïas*.

The ſecond, or great *jwálá-muc'hi*, or ſpring with a *flaming mouth*, is near *Báku*; from which place, I am told, ſome *Hindus* have attempted to viſit the *Sacred Iſlands* in the weſt; an account of which, from the *Puránas*, will (if the publick approve this eſſay) be the ſubject of a future work. A *Yógì*, now living, is ſaid to have advanced, with his train of pilgrims, as far as *Moſcow;* but, though he was not ill uſed by the *Ruſſians*, they flocked in ſuch crowds to ſee him, that he was often obliged to interrupt his devotions, in order to ſatisfy their curioſity; he therefore choſe to return; and, indeed, he would probably have been expoſed to ſimilar inconvenience in the *Sacred Iſles*, without excepting *Breta-ſt'hán*, or the *place of religious duty*. This weſtern pilgrimage may account for a fact mentioned, I think, by CORNELIUS NEPOS, (but, as printed books are ſcarce in this country, I ſpeak only from recollection,) that certain *Indi*, or *Hindus*, were ſhipwrecked

wrecked on the ſhores of the *Baltick*. Many *Bráhmens*, indeed, aſſert, that a great intercourſe anciently ſubſiſted between *India* and countries in the weſt; and, as far as I have examined their ſacred books, to which they appeal as their evidence, I ſtrongly incline to believe their aſſertion.

The *Sanſcrit* books are, both in ſize and number, very conſiderable; and, as the legends relating to *Egypt* lie diſperſed in them, without order or connexion, I have ſpared neither labour nor expenſe to collect them; but, though I have in that way done much, yet much remains to be done, and muſt be left, I fear, to others, who can better afford to make a collection ſo voluminous and expenſive. I had the happineſs to be ſtationed at *Benares*, the centre of *Hindu* learning; and, though my laborious duties left me very little time for literary purſuits, yet my appointment ſupplied me with means to defray the neceſſary charges, which I could not otherwiſe have afforded. To the friendſhip of Mr. DUNCAN I am deeply indebted: his encouragement and ſupport had a great effect on the *Bráhmens*; nor ſhould I, without his aſſiſtance, have met with that ſucceſs which has rewarded my labour. It will appear, in the courſe of my eſſay, that I have derived infinite advantage from the Travels of Mr. BRUCE, to which I ſo frequently refer, that it was hardly poſſible to cite them conſtantly; and I make this general acknowledgment of my obligation to him: even the outline of the map prefixed to this diſſertation, is borrowed from his elaborate Chart. Thoſe who may follow me in this path, will add conſiderably, no doubt, to the materials which I have amaſſed, and may poſſibly correct ſome errors into which I may have fallen: happy ſhall I be to have led the way to diſcoveries, from which very important concluſions may be deduced.

The

The *Hindus*, I believe, have no work profeſſedly written on *popular* geography, that is, on the face of this globe, according to the ſyſtem of their aſtronomers. They have large charts of the univerſe, according to the *Pauránicas*, with explanatory notes, and, perhaps, with treatiſes to elucidate their fables; and ſome of the *Puránas* contain liſts of countries, rivers and mountains, with a general diviſion of the known world, which are alſo to be found in a few of their aſtronomical books. The *Bauddhas*, or followers of JINA, have a ſmall tract on geography, entitled *Trilóca Derpan*, or, *The Mirror of Three Worlds*, which Mr. BURROW was ſo kind as to lend me: it is a moſt extravagant compoſition; and ſuch is the antipathy of the *Bráhmens* to the *Jainas*, that no explanation of it can be expected from them; but, ſhould I have leiſure and opportunity to examine it, the taſk may be attended with ſome advantage; though the proper names are in general changed, and accommodated to the heterodox ſyſtem.

According to the orthodox *Hindus*, the globe is divided into two hemiſpheres, both called *Méru*; but the ſuperior hemiſphere is diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Suméru*, which implies beauty and excellence, in oppoſition to the lower hemiſphere, or *Cuméru*, which ſignifies the reverſe. By *Méru*, without any adjunct, they generally mean the higher or *northern* hemiſphere, which they deſcribe, with a profuſion of poetical imagery, as the ſeat of delights; while they repreſent *Cuméru* as the dreary habitation of demons, in ſome parts intenſely cold, and in others ſo hot that the waters are continually boiling. In ſtrict propriety, *Méru* denotes the pole and the polar regions; but it is the celeſtial north pole round which they place the gardens and metropolis of INDRA; while YAMA holds his court in the oppoſite polar circle, or the ſtation of *Aſuras*, who warred with the *Suras*, or Gods of the Firmament.

There

There is great reaſon to believe that the old inhabitants of the ſouthern hemiſphere, among whom were the *Ethiops* and *Egyptians*, entertained a very different opinion of their own climate, and of courſe repreſented the ſummit of the northern hemiſphere as a region of horrors and miſery. We find, accordingly, that the *Greeks*, who had imported moſt of their notions from *Egypt*, placed their hell under the north pole, and confined CRONOS to a cave in the frozen circle. In the *Purânas* we meet with ſtrong indications of a *terreſtrial paradiſe*, different from that of the general *Hindu* ſyſtem, in the ſouthern parts of *Africa*; and this may be connected with the opinion adopted by the *Egyptians*, who maintained it againſt the *Scythians* with great warmth, (for the ancient inhabitants of the two hemiſpheres were perpetually wrangling on their comparative antiquity,) that the *Ethiopians* were the oldeſt nation on earth.

Several diviſions of the whole continent were made by different perſons at different times; and the modern *Bráhmens* have jumbled them all together. The moſt ancient of them is mentioned in the *Purânas*, entitled *Váyu* and *Brahmánda*; where that continent is divided into ſeven *dwípas*, or countries with *water on two ſides*; ſo that, like *jazírah* in *Arabick*, they may ſignify either *iſlands* or *peninſulas*. They are ſaid to be wholly ſurrounded by a vaſt ocean, beyond which lie the region and mountains of *Atala*; whence moſt probably the *Greeks* derived their notion of the celebrated *Atlantis*, which, as it could not be found after having once been diſcovered, they conceived to have been deſtroyed by ſome ſhock of nature; an opinion formed in the true *Hindu* ſpirit; for the *Bráhmens* would rather ſuppoſe the whole economy of the univerſe diſturbed, than queſtion a ſingle fact related in their books of authority. The names of thoſe iſlands, or peninſulas, are *Jambu*, *Anga*, *Yama*, *Yamala* or *Malaya*, *Sanc'ha*, *Cuſha*, and *Varáha*.

In the centre is JAMBU, or the inland part of *Asia:* to the east of it are *Anga*, *Yama*, and *Yamala*, reckoned from north to south; to the west, *Sanc'ha*, *Cusha*, and *Varáha*, reckoned from south to north. *Yama* and *Cusha* are said to be due east and west, in respect of *India;* and this is indubitably proved by particular circumstances.

Sanc'ha dwíp is placed on the south-west, supposed to be connected with *Yamala*, and with it to embrace an immense inland sea. Between them the *Hindus* place *Lancà*, which they conceive extended to a considerable distance, as far as the equator; so that *Sanc'ha* must be part of *Africa;* and *Yamala*, or *Malaya*, the peninsula of *Malacca*, with the countries adjacent. This notion of a vast inland sea, PTOLEMY seems to have borrowed from the *Hindus* whom he saw at *Alexandria;* for before his time there was no such idea among the *Greeks*. He calls it *Hippados;* a word which seems derived from *Abdhi*, a general name for the sea in the language of the *Bráhmens*. We may collect, from a variety of circumstances, that *Cusha dwíp* extends from the shore of the *Mediterranean*, and the mouths of the *Nile*, to *Serhind*, on the borders of *India*.

In a subsequent division of the globe, intended to specify some distant countries with more particular exactness, six *dwípas* are added; *Placsha*, *Sálmali*, *Crauncha*, *Sáca*, *Pushcara*, and a second *Cusha*, called *Cusha* dwípa *without*, in opposition to the former, which is said to be *within;* a distinction used by the *Bráhmens*, and countenanced in the *Puránas*, though not positively expressed in them. The six new *dwípas* are supposed to be contained within those before mentioned; and the *Puránas* differ widely in their accounts of them, while the geography of the former division is uniform.

Six

Six of the ancient divisions are by some called *upadwípas*, because they are joined to the large *dwípa*, named *Jambu;* and their names are usually omitted in the new enumeration. Thus *Cusha*-dwíp *within* is included in *Jambu-dwíp*, and comprises three out of seven *c'handas*, or sections of *Bháratavarsha.* Another geographical arrangement is alluded to by the poet CA'LIDA's, who says, that "RAGHU *erected pillars of* "*conquest in each of the* eighteen *dwípas*," meaning, say the *Pandits*, *seven* principal, and *eleven* subordinate, isles or peninsulas. *Upa*, the same word originally with *hypo* and *sub*, always implies *inferiority;* as *upavéda*, a work derived from the *Véda* itself; *upapátaca*, a crime in a lower degree; *upadherma*, an inferior duty: but great confusion has arisen from an improper use of the words *upadwípa* and *dwípa*.

Cusha-dwípa *without* is *Abyssinia* and *Ethiopa;* and the *Bráhmens* account plausibly enough for its name, by asserting, that the descendants of CUSHA, being obliged to leave their native country, from them called *Cusha*-dwípa *within*, migrated into *Sanc'ha'-dwíp*, and gave to their new settlement the name of their ancestor; for, though it be commonly said, that the *dwípa* was denominated from the grass *Cuśha*, of the genus named *Poa* by LINNÆUS, yet it is acknowledged, that the grass itself derived both its appellation and sanctity from CUSHA, the progenitor of a great *Indian* family. Some say that it grew on the *valmíca*, or hill formed by *termites*, or white ants, round the body of CUSHA himself; or of CAUSHICA, his son, who was performing his *tapasyá*, or act of austere devotion: but the story of the ant-hill is by others told of the first *Hindu* poet, thence named VA'LMI'CA.

The

The countries which I am going to describe lie in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, according to the ancient division; but, according to the new, partly in *Cusha*-dwíp *without*, and partly in *Sanc'ha*-dwíp *proper*: and they are sometimes named *Cálítata*, or *banks* of the *Cálí*, because they are situated on both sides of that river, or the *Nile* of *Ethiopia*. By *Cálítata* we are to understand *Ethiopia*, *Nubia*, and *Egypt*. It is even to this day called by the *Bráhmens* the country of *Dévatás*; and the *Greek* mythologist asserted, that the Gods were born on the banks of the *Nile*. That celebrated and holy river takes its rise from the *Lake of the Gods*, thence named *Amara*, or *Déva*, *Sarôvera*, in the *region* of S'HARMA, or *Sharma-st'hán*, between the mountains of *Ajágara* and *Sítánta*, which seem part of *Sóma-giri*, or the Mountains of the Moon, the country round the lake being called *Chándri-st'hán*, or *Moonland*: thence the *Cálí* flows into the marshes of the *Padma-van*, and through the *Nishada* mountains, into the land of *Barbara*, whence it passes through the mountains of *Hémacúta*, in *Sanc'ha*-dwíp *proper*; there entering the forests of *Tapas*, or *Thebais*, it runs into *Cantaca-désa*, or *Mishra-st'han*, and through the woods emphatically named *Arahya* and *Atavì*, into *Sanc'hábdhi*, or our *Mediterranean*. From the country of *Pushpaversha* it receives the *Nandá*, or *Nile* of *Abyssinia*; the *Ast'himatì*, or smaller *Crishná*, which is the *Tacazzè*, or little *Abay*; and the *Sanc'hanágá*, or *Mareb*. The principal tribes or nations who lived on its banks, were, besides the savage *Pulindas*, 1. the *S'hármicas*, or *S'hámicas*; 2. the Shepherds, called *Palli*; 3. the *Sanc'háyanas*, or *Troglodytes*, named also *Sánc'háyani*; 4. the *Cutila-césas*, or *Cutlálacas*; 5. the *S'yáma-muc'has*; 6. the *Dánavas*; and 7. the *Yavanas*. We find in the same region a country denominated *Strí-rájya*, because it was governed by none but Queens.

The river *Cálí* took its name from the goddess MAHA'-CA'LI', supposed to have made her first appearance on its banks in the character of *Rájarájés'warì*, called also

also ISA'NI and ISI; and, in the character of SATI', she was transformed into the river itself. The word *Cála* signifies *black*; and, from the root *cal*, it means also *devouring*, whence it is applied to *Time*; and, from both senses in the feminine, to the Goddess in her *destructive* capacity; an interpretation adopted, as we shall see hereafter, in the *Puránas*. In her character of MAHA'CA'LI she has many other epithets, all implying different shades of *black* or *dark azure*; and in the *Cálicá-purán*, they are all ascribed to the river. They are *Cálí* or *Cálá*, *Nílá*, *Asitá*, *S'hyámá* or *S'hyámalá*, *Méchacà*, *Anjanábhà*, *Crishná*. The same river is also called *Náhushì*, from the celebrated warrior and conqueror, usually entitled DEVA'-NAHUSHA, and, in the spoken dialects, DEO-NAUSH. He is the DIONYSIUS, I believe, of the ancient *Europeans*.

By the *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Hebrews*, the *Nile* (which is clearly a *Sanscrit* word) was known also by the following names: *Melas*, *Melo*, *Ægyptos*, *Sikhor* or *Sihor*, *Nous* or *Nús*, *Aëtos*, *Siris*, *Oceanus*, *Triton*, *Potamos*. The word NOUS (a) is manifestly corrupted from *Nahush*, or NAUSH; *Aëtos*, from king I'T or *Ait*, an *avántara*, or inferior incarnation, of MAHA'DEVA; *Ægyptos*, from *A'gupta*, or *on all sides guarded*; and *Triton*, probably *Trituni*; as the *Ethiops*, having no such letter as *p*, and generally substituting *t* in its room, would have pronounced *Tripuni*, which is a common *Indian* corruption of *Trivénì*.

The *Sanscrit* word *Trivénì* properly means *with three plaited locks*; but it is always applied to the confluence of *three sacred rivers*, or to the *branching* of a river *into three streams*. ÆTHICUS, in his Cosmography,

(a) HOR. APOLLO. περὶ Νείλου ἀγχεβάσεως. B. 1.

phy, instead of saying that the *Hydaspes* flows from a place named *Triveni*, uses the phrase *three hairs*, or *three locks of hair*, which is a literal version of the *Sanscrit*. Now the *Cáli* consists of *three sacred streams*; the *Nílá*, or *Nile* of *Ethiopia*; the *Nandà*, or *Nile* of *Abyssinia*; and the little *Chrĭshná*, or *Ast'himati*. The junction of the great *Chrĭshná* with the *Nandà* was held peculiarly sacred, as it appears from the following couplets in the *At'harvávéda*, which are cited in the original as a proof of their authenticity:

Bhadrá bhagavati Chrĭshná *grahanacshatra málini*,
Samvésani sanyamani, viswasya jagató nisá;
Agnichaura nipáteshu serva graha nivárané,
Dacshá bhagavatí dévì Nandayá *yatra sangatá:*
Serva pápa prasamanì bhadré páramasí mahí,
Sitá sitasamáyógát param yá na nivertaté.

That is, word for word,

"CRI'SHNA' the prosperous, the imperial, the giver "of delight, the restrainer *of evil*, decked, *like* the night "of the whole world, with a chaplet of planets and "stars; the sovereign goddess transcendently bene- "ficial in calamities from fire and robbers, in check- "ing *the bad influence of* all planets, where she is united "with the NANDA': she it is who expiates all sin. O, "propitious *river*, *thou art* the mighty goddess, who "causes us to attain the end *of mortal births*, who, by "the conjunction of black with white *waters*, never "ceases to produce the highest good."

Potamos, or the *river*, in THEOPHRASTUS, is commonly supposed to be only an emphatical appellative denoting superiority; but I cannot help thinking it

 derived

derived from the *Sanscrit* word *Padma*, which I have heard pronounced *Padam*, and even *Patam*, in the vulgar dialects. It is the *Nymphæa* of LINNÆUS, and most certainly the *lotos* of the *Nile*, on the pericarp of which a frog is represented sitting in an *Egyptian* emblem engraved by MONTFAUCON *(a)*. That river, and the marshes near it, abound with that lovely and useful plant; and we shall see presently, that *Cálì* herself is believed to have made its beautiful flower her favourite place of residence, in the character of *Padmá-dévì*, or the *Goddess in the lotos*. Most of the great rivers on which the *Nymphœa* floats in abundance, have the epithet of *Padmavatí*, or *Padmemati*; and the very word *Potamos*, used as an appellative for a large river, may be thence derived; at least the common etymology of that word is far less probable.

We before observed, that the source of the *Nílá* is in the extensive region of *Sharma*, near the mountains of *Sóma*, in the masculine, or *Dei Luni*; and that it issues from the Lake of the Gods, in the country of *Chandri*, in the feminine, or *Deæ-Lunæ*. To the word *Sarôvara*, or *Considerable Lake*, is prefixed in composition, either *Amara*, *Sura*, or *Déva*; and the compound *Déva-sarôvara* is generally pronounced, in common speech, *Deo-saraur*. It lies between two ranges of hills; one to the east, called *Ajágara*, or *not wakeful*; and the other to the west, named *Sítánta*, or *end of cold*, which implies that it may have snow on its summit, but in a very small quantity.

Sharma-st'han, called also the mountainous region of *Ajágara*, is said, in the *Brahmánda-purán*, to be 300 *Yogans*, or 1476,3 *British* miles, in length, and 100 in breadth,

(a) 2 BRYANT. *Anc. Mythol.* 334. *pl.* 6.

breadth, or 492,12 miles. The mountains were named *Ajágara*, or of those *who watch not*, in opposition to the mountains of *Abyssinia*, which were inhabited by *Nisácharas*, or *night-rovers*; a numerous race of *Yacshas*, but not of the most excellent class, who used to sleep in the day time, and revel all night. Mr. BRUCE speaks of a *kowas*, or *watching dog*, who was worshipped in the hills of *Abyssinia*.

The mountains of *Sóma*, or the Moon, are so well known to geographers, that no further description of them can be required; but it may be proper to remark, that PTOLEMY places them too far to the south, and M. D'ANVILLE too far to the north, as it will hereafter be shown. According to Father LOBO, the natives now call them *Toroa*. The *Ajágara* Mountains, which run parallel to the eastern shores of *Africa*, have at present the name of *Lupata*, or the *Backbone of the World*: those of *Sitánta* are the range which lies west of the Lake *Zambre*, or *Zaire*, words not improbably corrupted from *Amara* and *Sura*. The *Lake of the Gods* is believed to be a vast reservoir, which, through visible or hidden channels, supplies all the rivers of the country. The *Hindus*, for mythological purposes, are fond of supposing subterranean communications between lakes and rivers; and the *Greeks* had similar notions. Mr. BRUCE, from the report of the natives, has placed a reservoir of this kind at the source of the *White* River (a), which (though the two epithets have opposite senses) appear to be the *Cálì* of the *Puráns*. It may have been called *white* from the *Cumuda*, which abounds in its waters; at least the mountains near it are thence named *Cumudádri*; and the *Cumuda* is a water-flower sacred to the Moon, which VAN RHEEDE has exhibited, and which seems to be

X 2 either

(a) III Bruce, 719.

either a *Menianthes*, or a *Hydrophyllum*, or a small white *Nymphæa*. The lake of the *Amará*, or Immortals, was not wholly unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but they could not exactly tell where it was situated; and we are not much better acquainted with its true *(a)* situation: it is called *Nilides* by JUBA; *Niliducus* and *Nusaptis*, in the *Peutingerian* Table. It is the *Oriental Marsh* of PTOLEMY, and was not far from *Rapta*, now *Quiloa*; for that well-informed geographer mentions a certain DIOGENES, who went on a trading voyage to *India*, and, on his return, was overtaken near the Cape, now called *Gardefan*, by a violent storm from the N. N. E. which carried him to the vicinity of *Rapta*, where the natives assured him, that the *marshes* or *lakes* whence the *Nile* issued, were at no considerable distance.

The old *Egyptians* themselves, like the present *Hindus*, (who are apt, indeed, to place reservoirs for water, of different magnitudes, on the high grounds of most countries,) had a notion of a receptacle which supplied the *Nile* and other great *African* rivers; for the Secretary of MINERVA's temple informed HERODOTUS, that the holy river proceeded from deep lakes between the mountains of *Crophi* and *Mophi*; that part of its waters took their course toward the north, and the rest to the south through *Ethiopia*: but either the secretary himself was not perfectly master of the subject, or the historian misunderstood him; for HERODOTUS conceived that those lakes were close to *Syene*, *(b;)* and, as he had been there himself without seeing any thing of the kind, he looked upon the whole account as a fiction. It is not improbable, however, that the lakes were said by the secretary to be near the country of *Azania*, or *Azan*, which was mistaken for *Syene*, in *Egypt* called *Uswén*, or *Aswán*.

From

(a) Plin. l. 5. c. 9 (b) 2 Herod. c. 28.

From this idea of a general reservoir, the ancients concluded that the *Niger* also had its origin from the same lakes with the *Nile*: but JUBA acknowledged that the channels ran underground for the space of twenty days march, or about 300 miles, *(a.)* In conformity to the relation of DIOGENES, the marshy lakes were said by JUBA to lie near the Ocean; but he asserted positively, that the *Nile* did not immediately rise from them; adding, that it flowed through subterraneous passages for the space of several days' journey, and, on its re-appearance, formed another marshy lake, of still greater extent, in the land of the *Massæsyli*, who were, perhaps, the *Mahâhâsyasìlas* of the *Purâns*. The second lake corresponds in situation with the extensive marshes from which the *Nahru'labyad* of the *Arabs*, or *the White River*, has its source, according to Mr. BRUCE, who places the lake about the 3d or 4th degree of north latitude. It is named *Cowir* in the maps; and is noticed by the *Nubian* geographers.

The word *Nusaptis*, which is applied, as beforementioned, to the first lake, may be derived from *Nisápati*, or the *Lord of Night*, a title of the God LUNUS. The whole country, indeed, with its mountains, and most of its rivers, had appellations relating to the moon; and we find in it several smaller rivers, which we cannot now ascertain, with the names *Rajanì*, or Night; *Cuhú*, or the Day after the Conjunction; *Anumatì*, or that after the Opposition; *Ráca*, or the full Orb of the Moon; and *Sinívâlì*, or first visible Crescent. The inhabitants of that region are by PTOLEMY called *Mastitæ*; by JUBA, as we before observed, *Massæsyli*; and in the Maps, *Massi*, or *Massagueios*. In all those denominations, the leading root *Massa*, whatever be its meaning, is clearly distinguishable; and, as there were people with a similar name in *Mauritania*, PLINY and his followers make JUBA alledge, that the lakes just

(a) Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

just mentioned were in that country; but it is hardly possible that JUBA could have made such a mistake with respect to a country so near his own: nor can we refrain from observing, that PLINY was an indifferent geographer, and that his extracts and quotations are in general very inaccurate.

The second lake, or marsh, appears to be the *Padmávana* of the *Sanscrit* legends; and that word implies, that it abounded with the *Nymphæa*; but it was probably the *Padma*, distinguished by the epithet of *Cóti-patra*, or with *ten millions of petals*, which I conceive to be the *Ensete* of Mr. BRUCE, who mentions it as growing there in the greatest abundance. It is true, that the *Ensete* has no botanical affinity with the *Nymphæa*; but the *Hindus* were superficial botanists, and gave the same appellation to plants of different classes, as the word *Lotos*, indeed, was applied by the *Greeks* to the common *Padma*, or water-lily, and to the celebrated fruit of the *Lotophagi*, which had no relation to it. The usual number of petals on the *Nymphæa Lotos* is *fifteen*; but some have only *eight*. The character of the genus, indeed, is to have *numerous petals*; and the *Sanscrit* epithet *Sahasra-patra*, or *thousand-petalled*, is applied in dictionaries to the common *Padma*: but nothing could have justified such an epithet as *Cóti-patra*. On some *Egyptian* monuments we find ISIS reclined among the leaves of a plant, supposed to be the *Cadalí*, or *Mauza*, which has been changed into *Musa* by LINNÆUS: but Mr. BRUCE has exploded that error, and shewn that the plant was no other than his *Ensete*. The *Indian* Goddess, indeed, sits in the character of YACSHINI' *dévì*, on the leaves of the *Mauza*; but in that form, which was an *avántara*, or lower incarnation, she never has the majesty or the title of PADMA'. It is expresly said in the *Purá-ṇas*; that, on the banks of the *Cáli* river, PADMA' resides in the *Cóti-patra*, a flower unknown in *India*,

and

and consequently ill described in the *Sanscrit* books. Where PLINY mentions the Lotos of the *Nile*, he uses a phrase very applicable to the *Ensete*, "foliis densâ "congerie stipatis;" and, though he adds a few particulars not agreeing with Mr. BRUCE's full description of that plant, yet PLINY, being a careless writer, and an inaccurate botanist, might have jumbled together the properties of two different flowers.

The before-named country of *Chandrî-st'hân* was thus denominated from a fable in the *Purâns*: The God *Chandra*, or LUNUS, having lost his sex in *India*, became *Chandri*, or LUNA, who concealed herself in the mountains near the lakes of which we have been treating. She was there visited by the Sun, and by him had a numerous progeny, called *Pulindas*, from *Pulina*, an *islet* or *sand-bank*, who dwelt near the rivers that ran from those mountains, and acknowledged no ruling powers but the Sun and Moon.

Sharma-st'hân, of which we cannot exactly distinguish the boundaries, but which included Ethiopia *above* Egypt, as it is generally called, with part of *Abyssinia* and *Azan*, received its name from SHARMA, of whom we shall presently speak. His descendants, being obliged to leave *Egypt*, retired to the mountains of *Ajâgar*, and settled near the Lake of the Gods. Many learned *Brâhmens* are of opinion, that by the Children of SHARMA, we must understand that race of *Dêvatâs* who were forced to emigrate from *Egypt* during the reigns of SANI and RA'HU, or SATURN and TYPHON. They are said to have been a quiet and blameless people, and to have subsisted by hunting wild elephants, of which they sold or bartered the teeth, and even lived on the flesh. They built the town of *Rúpavatí*, or the *beautiful;* which the *Greeks* called *Rapta*, and thence gave the name of *Raptii*, or *Rapsii*, to

to its inhabitants. It is generally ſuppoſed, that only one town in that country was named *Rapta*; but STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* poſitively aſſerts, that there were two of the name, *(a:)* one, the capital of *Ethiopia*; and another, a ſmall town or village, conſiſting of huts inhabited by ſeaſaring men, near a harbour at the mouth of the river *Raptus*. The former is the *Rúpavati* of the *Puránas*, in which it is declared to have ſtood near the *Cálì*. We cannot perfectly aſcertain its poſition; but it was, I think, ſituated near the ſouthern extremity of the Divine Lake, now called *Zambre*, or *Maravi*; for PTOLEMY places the *Raptii* about the ſources of the *Nile*, that is *thirteen* or *fourteen* degrees from the city, whence, as he ſuppoſes, that people was named. No further deſcription can juſtly be expected of a country ſo little known: but we may obſerve, that the *Nubian* geographer mentions a mountain near the Lake of the Gods, called the Mount of the *Painted Temple*; becauſe, probably, it contained hieroglyphicks cut on ſtone, and painted, ſuch as are to be ſeen at this day in ſome parts of *Egypt*. He adds, that on the bank of the *ſecond* lake was the ſtatue of a certain *Maſha*, ſuppoſed to be his body itſelf petrified as a puniſhment for his crimes.

I. It is related in the *Padma-purán*, that SATYAVRA'TA, whoſe miraculous preſervation from a general deluge is told at length in the *Mátſya*, had three ſons, the eldeſt of whom was named JYA'PETI, or *Lord of the Earth*. The others were C'HARMA and SHARMA, which laſt words are, in the vulgar dialects, uſually pronounced *C'ham* and *Sham*; as we frequently hear *Kiſhn* for CRI'SHNA. The royal patriarch (for ſuch is his character

(a) STEPH. Byzant. on the word *Rapta*.

character in the *Puráns*) was particularly fond of JYA'PETI, to whom he gave all the regions to the north of *Himálaya*, or the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend from sea to sea, and of which *Caucasus* is a part. To SHARMA he allotted the countries to the south of those mountains: But he cursed C'HARMA; because, when the old monarch was accidentally inebriated with a strong liquor made of fermented rice, C'HARMA laughed; and it was in consequence of his father's imprecation, that he became a slave to the slaves of his brothers.

The children of SHARMA travelled a long time, until they arrived at the bank of the *Nílá*, or *Cálì*: and a *Bráhmen* informs me (but the original passage from the *Purán* is not yet in my possession) that their journey began after the building of the *Padmá-mandira*, which appears to be the tower of *Babel*, on the banks of the river *Cumudvatí*, which can be no other than the *Euphrates*. On their arrival in *Egypt*, they found the country peopled by evil beings, and by a few impure tribes of men, who had no fixed habitations: their leader, therefore, in order to propitiate the tutelary divinity of that region, sat on the bank of the *Nile*, performing acts of austere devotion, and praising PADMA'-*dévì*, or the Goddess residing on the Lotos. PADMA' at last appeared to him, and commanded him to erect a pyramid in honour of her, on the very spot where he then stood. The associates began the work, and raised a pyramid of earth two *crós* long, one broad, and one high, in which the Goddess of the Lotos resided; and from her it was called *Padmá-mandira*, and *Padmá-mát'ha*. By *mandira* is meant a *temple* or *palace*; and by *mát'ha*, or *mer'ha*, a *college* or *habitation of students*: for the Goddess herself instructed SHARMA and his family in the most useful arts, and taught them the *Yacsha-lipi*, or *writing of the Yacshas*, a race of superior beings, among whom CUVE'RA was the chief. It does not clearly appear on what occasion the *Sharmicas* left

left their first settlement, which had so auspicious a beginning; but it has before been intimated, that they probably retreated to *Ajágara*, in the reigns of SANI and RAHU, at which time, according to the *Puráns*, the *Dêvatás*, among whom the *Sharmicas* are reckoned, *were compelled to seek refuge in the mountains.* A similar flight of the *Dévátas* is, however, said to have been caused by the invasion of DEVA-NAHUSH, or DIONYSIUS.

The *Padmá-mandir* seems to be the town of *Byblos*, in *Egypt*, now called *Babel*; or rather that of *Bábél*, from which original name the *Greeks* made *Byblos*. It stood on the canal, which led from the *Balbitine* branch of the *Nile* to the *Phatmetic*; a canal which is pretty well delineated in the *Peutingerian* Table: and it appears, that the most southern *Isëum* of that table is the same with the *Byblos* of the *Greeks*. Since this mound, or pyramid, was raised but a short time after that or the *Cumudvatî*, and by a part of the same builders, and since both have the same name in *Sanscrit*, whence it should seem that both were inscribed to the same divinity, we can hardly fail to conclude, that the *Padmá-mandiras* were the two *Babels*; the first on the *Euphrates*, the second on the *Nile*. The old place of worship at *Byblos* was afterwards much neglected, being scarce mentioned by ancient authors. STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* says *it was very strong*; and it was there, according to THUCYDIDES, and to the *Persicks* of CTESIAS, quoted by PHOTIUS, that INARUS, king of *Lybia*, with his *Athenian* auxiliaries, and the *Egyptians*, who were attached to him, sustained a siege of a year and a half against the whole *Persian* army, under MEGABYZUS: but, as it stood in low marshy ground, it probably owed its chief strength to the vast mound of earth mentioned in the *Puránas*, the dimensions of which are, however, (as it is usual in poetical descriptions,) much exaggerated. One of the three grand branches of the *Nile*, in the vicinity of *Padmá-mat'h*, is called

Pathmeti

Pathmeti by PTOLEMY, and *Phatmi* by DIODORUS the *Sicilian.* Both seem derived from the *Sanscrit* corrupted: for *Padma* is in many *Indian* dialects pronounced *Padm*, or *Podm*, and in some *Patma*. To the same root may be referred the appellation of the nome *Phthembuthi*, or *Phthemmuthi*, as it is also written; for the *Padmá-mat'h* was in the nome *Prosopitis*, which once made a part, as it evidently appears, of the nome *Phthembuthi*; though it was afterwards considered as a separate district, in consequence of a new division. *Prosopitis*, most certainly, is derived from a *Greek* word, and alludes to the summit of the *Delta*, seen on a passage down the *Nile* from the city of *Memphis*; but *Potamitis*, which was applied to *Egypt* itself, can hardly mean any more, than that the country lies on both sides of *a large river*, which would not be a sufficient discrimination to justify that common etymology: and we have already hazarded a conjecture that *Potamos*, as a proper name of the *Nile*, relates to the holy and beautiful *Padma*.

Of the *Yacsha* letters, before mentioned, I should wish to give a particular account; but the subject is extremely obscure. CRINITUS asserts, that the *Egyptian* letters were invented by ISIS; and ISIS on the Lotos, was no other, most certainly, than PADMÁ'-DE'VÌ, whom the *Purànas* mention as the instructress of the *Sharmicas* in the *Yacsha* mode of writing. According to the *Bràhmens*, there are written characters of three principal sorts, the *Dévanágárì*, the *Paìsáchì*, and the *Yácshì*; but they are only variations of the same original elements. The *Dévanágárì* characters are used in the northern, the *Paìsáchì* in the southern, parts of *India*; and the *Yácshì*, it is said, in *Butan*, or in *Tibet*. The *Pandits* consider the *Dévanágárì* as the most ancient of the three; but the beauty and exquisite perfection of them renders this very doubtful; especially as ATRI, whom they suppose to have received

ceived them from the Gods, lived a long time, as they ſay, in the countries bordering on the *Cálì*, before he repaired to the *Dévánica* Mountains, near *Cábul*, and there built the town of *Dévanagar*, from which his ſyſtem of letters had the name of *Dévanágárì*. As to the *Páiśácha* characters, they are ſaid to have been invented by the *Pális*, or Shepherds, who carried them into *Ethiopia*. The *Yacſha* writing I had once imagined to be a ſyſtem of hieroglyphicks; but had no authority from the *Puránas* to ſupport that opinion, and I dropped it on better information; eſpecially as the *Bráhmens* appear to have no idea of hieroglypicks, at leaſt according to our conception of them.

The *Sharmicas*, we have obſerved, rank among the *Dévatás*, or Demi-gods; and they ſeem to have a place among the *Yacſhas* of the *Puránas*, whom we find in the northern mountains of *India*, as well as in *Ethiopia*. The country in which they finally ſettled, and which bore the name of their anceſtors, was in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, and ſeems to compriſe all that ſub-diviſion of it, which, in the *Bhágavat*, and other books, is called *Cuſha*-dwíp *without*.

Several other tribes, from *India* or *Perſia*, ſettled afterwards in the land of SHARMA. The firſt and moſt powerful of them were the *Pális*, or Shepherds, of whom the *Puránas* give the following account.

II. I'RŚHU, ſurnamed *Pingácſha*, the ſon of UGRA, lived in *India* to the ſouth-weſt of *Cáſhi*, near the *Naravindhyà* river, which flowed, as its name implies, from the *Vindhya* mountains. The place of his reſidence to the ſouth of thoſe hills was named *Palli*, a word now ſignifying a large town and its diſtrict; or *Páli*, which may be derived from *Pála*, a herdſman or ſhepherd. He was a prince mighty and

 warlike,

warlike, though very religious: but his brother TA'RA'C'HYA, who reigned over the *Vindyhan* mountaineers, was impious and malignant; and the whole country was infested by his people, whom he supported in all their enormities. The good king always protected the pilgrims to *Cási*, or *Varánes*, in their passage over the hills, and supplied them with necessaries for their journey; which gave so great offence to his brother, that he waged war against I'RSHU, overpowered him, and obliged him to leave his kingdom. But MAHA'DE'VA, proceeds the legend, assisted the fugitive prince, and the faithful *Pális*, who accompanied him; conducting them to the banks of the *Cáli*, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, where they found the *Sharmiças*, and settled among them. In that country they built the temple and town *Punyavatì*, or *Punya-nagarì*; words implying *holiness* and *purity*, which it imparts, say the *Hindus*, to zealous pilgrims. It is believed at this day to stand near the *Cáli*, or the low hills of *Mandara*, which are said, in the *Puránas*, to consist of *red earth*; and on those hills the *Pális*, under their virtuous leader, are supposed to live, like the *Gandharvas*, on the summit of *Himálaya*, in the lawful enjoyment of pleasures; rich, innocent, and happy, though intermixed with some *Mléch'has*, or people who *speak a barbarous dialect*, and with some of a fair complexion. The low hills of *Mandara* include the tract called *Meroë*, or *Merhoe*, by the *Greeks*; in the centre of which is a place named *Mandara* in the JESUITS' Map, and *Mandera* by Mr. BRUCE, who says, that of old it was the residence of the shepherds, or *Palli* kings. In that part of the country the hills consist of *red earth*; and their name *Mandara* is a derivative from *manda*, which, among other senses, means *sharp-pointed*, from the root *mand*, which may have the sense of *bhid*, to *cut*: so that *Mandara-parvata* signifies a mountain *dividing* the waters, and forcing them to run different ways; an etymology confirmed by Mr. BRUCE in his description of *Meroe*, where he accounts for

for its being called an island. The compound *Punya-nagari*, or *City of Virtue*, seems to imply both a seat of government, and a principal temple with a college of priests: it was, therefore, the celebrated city of *Meroë*, a word which may be derived from MERHA (*vidyárt'hinám grĭham;* the *mansion of students*, as it is explained in the dictionaries;) or from MRARA, of whom we shall presently speak.

To the king of the *Pális*, named also *Palli*, from those whom he governed, MAHA'DE'VA gave the title of NAIRRĬTA, having appointed him to guard the *nairrĭti*, or south-west: and though he was a *Pisácha* by birth, or naturally bloody-minded, yet he was rewarded for his good disposition, and is worshipped in *India* to this day, among the eight *Dic-pálas*, or guardians of as many quarters, who constantly watch, on their elephants, for the security of *Cási*, and other holy places in *Jambu-dwípa*: but the abode of his descendants is declared, in the *Puránas*, to be still on the banks of the *Cálì*, or *Nilà*. One of his descendants was LUBDHACA, of whom an account will be given in a subsequent section; and from LUBDHACA descended the unfortunate LI'NA'SU, (not the bard HERIDATTA, who had also that name, and who will be mentioned hereafter more particularly; but) a prince whose tragical adventures are told in the *Rájanı́ti*, and whose death was lamented annually by the people of *Egypt*. All his misfortunes arose from the incontinence of his wife YO'GA, BHRAST'A', or YO'GA'CASHTA: and his son MAHA'SURA, having, by mistake, committed incest with her, put himself to death, when he discovered his crime, leaving issue by his lawful wife. May we not reasonably conjecture, that LUBDHACA was the LABDACAS; LI'NA'SU, the LAIUS; and YO'GA'CASHTA, the JOCASTA, of the *Greeks*? The word *Yadupa*, from which ŒDIPUS may be derived, signifies King of the *Yadu* family, and might have been a title of the unhappy MAHA'SURA.

This

This account of the *Pális* has been extracted from two of the eighteen *Purânas*, entitled SCANDA, or the God of War, and BRAHMA'NDA, or the Mundane Egg. We must not omit, that they are said to have carried from *India* not only the *At'harvá-véda*, which they had a right to possess, but even the *three* others, which they acquired clandestinely; so that the *four* books of ancient *Indian* scripture once existed in *Egypt*; and it is remarkable, that the books of *Egyptian* science were exactly *four*, called the books of *Harmonia*, or HERMES, which are supposed to have contained subjects of the highest antiquity, (a.) NONNUS mentions the first of them as believed to be coeval with the world; and the *Bráhmens* assert, that their three first *Védas* existed before the creation.

The *Pális* remaining in *India* have different names. Those who dwell to the south and south-west of *Benáres*, are, in the vulgar dialects, called *Pális* and *Bhils*; in the mountains to the north-east of that city, they are in *Sanscrit* named *Cirátas*; and toward the *Indus*, as I am informed, a tribe of them has the appellation of *Haritas*. They are now considered as outcasts, yet are acknowledged to have possessed a dominion in ancient times from the *Indus* to the eastern limits of *Bengal*, and even as far as *Siam*. Their ancestors are described as a most ingenious people, virtuous, brave, and religious; attached particularly to the worship of MAHA'DE'VA, under the symbol of the *Linga* or *Phallus*; fond of commerce, art, science; and using the *Paisáchi* letters, which they invented. They were supplanted by the *Rájaputras*; and their country, before named *Pálist'hán*, was afterwards called *Rájaputana* in the vulgar dialect of their conquerors. The history of the *Pális* cannot fail to be interesting, especially as it will be found much connected with that of *Europe*; and I hope soon to be supplied with materials

(a) See 2 Bryant, 150.

materials for a fuller account of them. Even their miserable remains in *India* must excite compassion, when we consider how great they once were, and from what height they fell through the intolerant zeal and superstition of their neighbours. Their features are peculiar, and their language different, but perhaps not radically, from that of other *Hindus*. Their villages are still called *Palli*. Many places, named *Palita*, or, more commonly, *Bhilata*, were denominated from them; and in general, *Palli* means a village or town of *shepherds* or *herdsmen*. The city of IRSHU, to the south of the *Vindhya* mountains, was emphatically styled *Palli;* and, to imply its distinguished eminence, *Srí-palli*. It appears to have been situated on or near the spot where *Bopál* now stands, and to be the *Sari-palla* of PTOLEMY, which was called *Palibothræ* by the *Greeks*, and, more correctly in the *Peutingerian* Table, *Palipotra;* for the whole tribe are named *Paliputras* in the sacred books of the *Hindus*, and were indubitably the *Palibothri* of the ancients, who, according to PLINY, governed the whole country from the *Indus* to the mouth of the *Ganges:* but the *Greeks* have confounded them and their capital city with the *Baliputras*, whose chief town, denominated from them, had also the name of *Rájagriha*, since changed into *Rájamahall*. As it was in the *Mandala*, or *circle* of the *Baliputras*, it is improperly called by PTOLEMY, who had heard that expression from travellers, *Pali-bothræ* of the *Mandalas*.

We have said, that I'R'SHU had the surname of *Pin-gácsha*, or *yellow-eyed;* but in some dictionaries he is named *Pingásá*, or *yellow as fine gold;* and in the track of his emigration from *India*, we meet with indications of that epithet. The *Turkish* geographers consider the sea-coast of *Yemen*, says Prince KANTEMIR, as part of *India*, calling its inhabitants *yellow Indians*. The province of *Ghilán*, says TEXEIRA, has also the appellation of *Hindu'l Asfar*, or *Yellow India;* and

and the *Caſpian* itſelf is by the *Turks* called the Yellow Sea, *(a.)* This appears to be the origin of the *Panchæan* tribes, in *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*, whoſe native country was called *Panchæa ;* and the iſlands near it, *Panchæan*: though DIODORUS of *Sicily*, attempting to give a deſcription, from EUHEMERUS, of *Panchæa*, or *Pingáſa*, has confined it to an inconſiderable iſland near *Dwáracà ;* yet it was really *India* itſelf, as his deſcription ſufficiently ſhows : and the place which he names *Oceanida*, is no other than old *Ságar*, at the mouth of the *Ganges*. The northern mountain, which he ſpeaks of, is *Méru :* and the three towns near it are deſcribed in the *Puráns* with almoſt the ſame appellations.

ORUS, the ſhepherd, mentioned in ancient accounts of *Egypt*, but of whom few particulars are left on record, was, moſt probably, IR'SHU, the *Palli ;* whoſe deſcendants, the *Pingácſhas*, appear to have been the *Phenician* ſhepherds, who once eſtabliſhed a government on the banks of the *Nile*. The *Phenicians* firſt made their appearance on the ſhores of the *Erythrean* or *Red Sea*, by which we muſt underſtand the whole *Indian* Ocean between *Africk* and the *Malay* coaſts ; and the *Puránas* thus repreſent it, when they deſcribe the waters of the *Arunódadhi*, as *reddened* by the reflection of ſolar beams from the ſouthern ſide of mount *Suméru*, which abounds with gems of that colour. Something of this kind is hinted by PLINY, *(b.)* It is aſſerted by ſome (and from ſeveral circumſtances it appears moſt probable) that the firſt ſettlements of the *Phenicians* were on the *Perſian* Gulph, which is part of the *Erythrean* Sea. JUSTIN ſays, that, *having been obliged to leave their native country*, (which ſeems from the context to have been very far eaſtward,) *they ſettled near the* Aſſyrian *Lake*, which is the

(a) *Muller*, p. 106. (b) Lib. 6 Cap. 23.

the *Persian* Gulph; and we find an extensive district, named *Palestine*, to the east of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. The word *Palestine* seems derived from *Pallist'hán*, the seat of the *Pális*, or Shepherds, (*a.*) The *Samaritans*, who before lived in that country, seem to have been a remnant of the *Pális*, who kept themselves distinct from their neighbours, and probably removed for that reason to the *Palestine* on the shore of the *Mediterranean*; but, after their arrival in that country, they wished to ingratiate themselves with the *Jews* and *Phenicians*, and, for that purpose, claimed affinity with them; alledging, sometimes, that they were descended from JACOB, and at other times, that they sprang from P.NKHAS; a word pronounced also PHINEAS, and supposed (but, I think, less probably) to mean the son of AARON. Certainly, the *Jews* looked upon the *Samaritans* as a tribe of *Philistines*; for mount *Garizim* was called *Palitan* and *Peltan*. TREMELIUS, in the Wisdom of the Son of SIRACH writes *Palischthæa*; but in the *Greek* we find *the* Philistines, *who reside on the mount of* Samaria, (*b.*) But let us return to *Palestine* in *Assyria*.

Whether the posterity of *Pingácsha*, or the *Yellow Hindus*, divided themselves into two bodies, one of which passed directly into *Phenice*, and the other went along the *Arabian* shores to *Abyssinia*, or whether the whole nation first entered the southern parts of *Arabia*, then crossed over to *Africk*, and settled in the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, I cannot determine; but we have strong reasons to believe, that some, or all of them, remained a considerable time on the coast of *Yemen*. The *Panchæan* tribes in that country were considered as *Indians*. Many names of places in it, which ancient geographers mention, are clearly *Sanscrit*, and most of those names are found at present in *India*.

(*a.*) Lib. 6 cap. 70. (*b.*) Chap. 50. v. 28.

India. The famed *Rhadamanthus*, to whom HOMER gives the epithet *yellow*, and his brother MINOS, were, it seems, of *Phenician* extraction. They are said to have reigned in *Arabia*, and were, probably, *Pâlis*, descended from PINGA'CSHA, who, as we have observed, were named also *Cirátas*; whence the western island, in which MINOS, or his progeny, settled, might have derived its appellations of *Curetis* (a) and *Crete*. In scripture we find the *Peleti* and *Kerethi* named as having settled in *Palestine*; but the second name was pronounced *Kerethi* by the *Greek* interpreters, as it is by several modern commentators: hence we meet with *Krita*, a district of *Palestine*, and at *Gaza* with a JUPITER *Cretæus*, who seems to be the *Critê-swara* of the *Hindus*. In the spoken *Indian* dialects, *Palita* is used for *Palli*, a herdsman; and the *Egyptians* had the same word; for their priests told HERODOTUS, that their country had once been invaded by PHILITIUS, the Shepherd, who used to drive his cattle along the *Nile*, and afterwards built the pyramids, (b.) The *Phyllitæ* of PTOLEMY, who are called *Bulloits* by Captain R. COVERT, had their name from *Bhilata*, which in *India* means a place inhabited by *Pallis*, or *Bhils*. The ancient Shepherds made so conspicuous a figure in *Egypt*, that it is needless to expatiate on their history; and for an account of the Shepherds in or near *Abyssinia*, I refer to the Travels of Mr. BRUCE. Let us return to *Meroë*.

The writers of the *Puránas*, and of other books esteemed sacred by the *Hindus*, were far from wishing to point out the origin of mere cities, how distinguished soever in civil transactions: their object was to account

(a) PLIN. lib. 4. cap. 12. *Curetis* was named, according to ANAXIMANDER, from the *Curetes* under their King PHILISTIDES.

(b) HEROD. B. 2. 148.

for the foundation of temples and places of pilgrimage: but it often happened, that several places of worship were in different periods erected at a small distance from each other; and, as the number of inhabitants increased round each temple, an immense town was at length formed out of many detached parts; though we are never told in the *Puránas*, whether those consecrated edifices were contiguous or far asunder. This happened to *Memphis*, as we shall presently show; and it seems to have been the case with *Punyavatí*, and with *Merha*, or *Mríra*. Those words are written *Met'ha* and *Mríra*; but there is something so peculiar in the true sound of the *Nágari* letters, *ta*, *t'ha*, *da*, *d'ha*, that they are generally pronounced, especially when they are placed between two vowels, like a palatial *ra*. The vowel *ri* has likewise a great peculiarity, and, as we before observed on the word *Kishn* for *Crishna*, is frequently changed. Now the whole *Troglodytica* was named *Midoë*, or *Mirhoë*; and he who shall attentively consider the passage in PLINY, where the towns of *Midoë* and *Asal* are mentioned, will perceive that they can be no other than *Meroë* and *Æsar*. This interchange of *da* and *ra* so exactly resembles the *Sanscrit*, that the name of *Meroe* seems more probably derived from *Mrida*, than from *Metha*, or a *college of priests*; especially as the *Pális* were almost exclusively attached to the worship of MRÍRA, or MAHA'DE'VA. A place in *Pegu*, called *Mríra* from the same deity, has, in PTOLEMY, the name of *Mareura*, and is now pronounced *Mero* by the natives.

According to the *Puráns*, the residence of King I'T (who formerly ruled over *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*) was on the banks of the *Câlì* river, and had the name of *Mríra*, or *Mríra-st'hán*, because its principal temple was dedicated to MRÍRA, and his consort MRINA'NÌ, or PA'RVATÌ. Now, when we read in STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, that the fort of *Merusium*, near *Syracuse*,

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was believed by ſome to have taken its name from *Meroë* in *Ethiopia*, we muſt underſtand, that it was named from a place of worſhip ſacred to Mrira, the chief *Ethiopian* divinity: and the ſame author informs us, that *Meroeſſa Diana*, or Mrire'swari De'vi, who is repreſented with a *creſcent* on her forehead, was adored at *Meruſium* in *Sicily*. We may conclude, that her huſband, Mrĭre'swara, was the God of *Meroë*, called a *barbarous deity* by the *Greeks*, who, being themſelves unable to articulate his name, inſiſted that it was concealed by his prieſts. It has been imagined, that Cambyses gave the name of his ſiſter and wife to *Meroë*, but it is very dubious, in my opinion, whether he penetrated ſo far as that city. In all events, he could have made but a ſhort ſtay in the diſtrict, where, as he was abhorred by the *Egyptians* and *Ethiops*, it is improbable that a name impoſed by him could have been current among them: and, whatever might have been his firſt intention as to the name of his wife, yet, when he had killed her, and undergone a ſeries of dreadful misfortunes in thoſe regions, it is moſt probable that he gave himſelf no further trouble about her or the country.

In the book entitled *Saiva-ratnácara*, we have the following ſtory of King I't, who is ſuppoſed to have been Mrira himſelf in a human ſhape, and to have died at *Meroë*, where he long reigned.

On the banks of the *Nílá* there had been long conteſts between the *Devatás* and the *Daityas*: but the latter tribe having prevailed, their king and leader, Sanc'ha'sura, who reſided in the ocean, made frequent incurſions into the country, advancing uſually in the night, and retiring before day to his ſubmarine palace. Thus he deſtroyed or made captive many excellent princes, whoſe territories and people were between two fires; for, while Sanc'ha'sura was ravag-

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ing one side of the continent, CRACACHA, king of *Crauncha-dwip*, used to desolate the other; both armies consisting of savages and cannibals, who, when they met, fought together with brutal ferocity, and thus changed the most fertile of regions into a barren desert. In this distress the few natives, who survived, raised their hands and hearts to BHAGAVA'N, and exclaimed, 'Let him that can deliver us from these disasters be our King;' using the word I'T, which reechoed through the whole country. At that instant arose a violent storm, and the waters of the *Cáli* were strangely agitated, when there appeared from the waves of the river a man, afterwards called I'T, at the head of a numerous army, saying, "*abhyam*," or, *there is no fear*; and, on his appearance, the *Daityas* descended into *Pátála*, the demon SANC'HA'SURA plunged into the ocean, and the savage legions preserved themselves by a precipitate flight. The King I'T, a subordinate incarnation of MRIRA, re-established peace and prosperity through all *Sanc'ha-dwípa*, through *Barbara-désa*, *Misra-st'hán*, and *Arva-st'hán*, or *Arabia*: the tribes of *Cutila-césas* and *Hásyasílas* returned to their former habitation, and justice prevailed through the whole extent of his dominions. The place near which he sprang from the middle of the *Nílá* is named *I'ta*, or I'T-*st'hán*; and the capital of his empire, *Mríra*, or *Mríra-st'hán*. His descendants are called *Ait*, in the derivative form, and their country *Aitéya*. The king himself is generally denominated AIT, and was thus erroneously named by my *Pandit* and his friends, till, after a long search, they found the passage in which his adventure is recorded. The *Greeks*, in whose language *aetos* means an eagle, were very ready, as usual, to find an etymology for *Ait*. They admit, however, that the *Nile* was first called *Aëtos*, after a dreadful swelling of the river, which greatly alarmed the *Ethiopians*, (*a*;) and this is conformable to what we read in the

(*a*) DIOD. SIC. B. 1.

the *Saiva-ratnácara.* At the time of that prodigious intumescence in the river, it is said that PROMETHEUS was King of *Egypt*: but PROMETHEUS appears to be no other than PRAMAT'HE'SA, a title of MRI'RA, signifying Lord of the *Pramat'has*, who are supposed to be the *five senses*; and in that character he is believed to have formed a race of men. STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* and EUSTATHIUS *(a)* assert, that AETUS was an *Indian* or *Hindu*; but as nothing like this can be collected from the *Puránas*, they confounded, I imagine, I'T or AIT with YADU, of which I shall instantly speak. The chief station of I'T, or *Aitam*, which could not have been very distant from *Mríra-st'hán*, I take to be the celebrated place of worship mentioned by STRABO, *(b)* and by DIODORUS, called *Avatum*, *(c,)* which was near *Meroë*. It was the same, I believe, with the *Tathis* of PTOLEMY, and *Tatu* of PLINY, situated in an island, which, according to Mr. BRUCE, is at present known by the name of *Kurgos*, and which was so near *Meroë* as to form a kind of harbour for it.

The origin of the *Yátus* is thus related. UGRASE'NA, or UGRA, was father of DE'VACÌ, who was CRISHNA'S mother. His son CANSA, having imprisoned him, and usurped his throne, became a merciless tyrant, and showed a particular animosity against his kinsmen the *Yádavas*, or descendants of YADU, to whom, when any of them approached him, he used to say, *yátu*, or, *be gone*, so repeatedly, that they acquired the nickname of *Yátu*, instead of the respectable patronymick by which they had been distinguished. CANSA made several attempts to destroy the children of DE'VACÌ; but CRISHNA, having been preserved from his machinations, lived to kill the tyrant, and restore UGRASE'NA, who became a sovereign of the world. During the infancy, however, of

(a) On *Dionys.* Περιηγ. *(b)* Strabo. B. 17. p. 823.
(c) Diod. Sic. P. 4. C. 1.

of CRISHNA, the persecuted *Yádavas* emigrated from *India*, and retired to the mountains of the exterior *Cusha-dwip*, or *Abyssinia*. Their leader, YA'TU, was properly entitled YA'DAVE'NDRA, or Prince of *Yádavas*; whence those mountains acquired the same appellation. They are now called *Ourémidré*, or *Ardwemidré*, which means, we are told, the Land of *Arwe*, the first king of that country, *(a;)* but, having heard the true *Sanscrit* name pronounced, in common speech, *Yarevinda*, I cannot but suspect a farther corruption of it in the name of the *Abyssinian* mountains. Those *Indian* emigrants are described in the *Puránas* as a blameless, pious, and even a sacred, race; which is exactly the character given by the ancients to the genuine *Ethiopians*, who are said, by STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, by EUSEBIUS, by PHILOSTRATUS, by EUSTATHIUS, and others, to have come originally from *India* under the guidance of AETUS, or *Yátu*; but they confound him with King AIT, who never was there. YA'DABE'NDRA (for so his title is generally pronounced) seems to be the wise and learned *Indian* mentioned in the *Paschal Chronicle* by the name of ANDUBARIUS, *(b.)* The king or chief of the *Yátus* is correctly named YA'TUPA, or, in the western pronunciation, JA'TUPA; and their country would, in a derivative form, be called, *Játupéya*. Now the writers of the Universal History assert, that the native *Ethiopians* give their country, even at this day, the names of *Itiopia* and *Zaitiopia*. There can be little or no doubt that YA'TUPA was the King ÆTHIOPS of the *Greek* mythologists, who call him the son of VULCAN; but, according to the *Puránas*, that descent could not be ascribed to YA'TU, though it might, perhaps, to King IT; for it will be shown, in a subsequent part of this Essay, that the VULCAN of *Egypt* was also considered by the *Hindus* as an *avántara*, or subordinate incarnation of MAHA'DE'VA.

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(a) Univ. Hist. *vol.* 16. *p.* 222. *(b)* Chron. Pasch. *p.* 36.

Not only the land of *Egypt*, and the countries bordering on the *Nile*, but even *Africa* itſelf, had formerly the appellation of *Aëria*, from the numerous ſettlements, I ſuppoſe, of the *Ahirs*, or Shepherds, as they are called in the ſpoken *Indian* dialects. In *Sanſcrit*, the true word is *Abhir;* and hence, I conceive, their principal ſtation in the land of *Gôſhen*, on the borders of *Egypt*, was named *Abaris* and *Avaris;* for *Ghoſhená* itſelf, or *Ghóſháyana*, means *the abode of ſhepherds or herdſmen;* and *Góſha*, though it alſo ſignify a *Gópàl*, or Cowherd, is explained, in *Sanſcrit* dictionaries, by the phraſe *Abhírapallí*, a *town* or *village* of *Abhiras* or *Pális*.

The mountains of *Abyſſinia* have in *Sanſcrit* the name of *Niſhadha;* and from them flowed the *Nandà*, (which runs through the land of *Puſhpaverſham* about the lake *Dembea*,) the Little *Criſhná*, or *Tacazzè*, and the *Sanc'hanágá*, or *Mareb;* of which three rivers we ſhall hereafter ſpeak more particularly. Since the *Hindus* place another *Méru* in the Southern Hemiſphere, we muſt not be ſurprized to find the *Nílá* deſcribed by them as ruſhing over three ranges of mountains, which have the ſame names with three ſimilar ranges over which the *Gangá*, in their opinion, forces its way, before it enters the plains of *India*. Thoſe mountains are the *Himálaya*, or, *ſeat of ſnow*, the *Niſhadha*, and the *Hémacúta*, or *with a golden peak*. The *Hindus* believe that a range of *African* hills is covered with ſnow: the old *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, believed the ſame thing; and modern travellers aſſert, that ſnow falls here and there in ſome parts of *Africa:* but the Southern *Himálaya* is more generally called *Sítánta*, which implies the *end*, or *limit*, *of cold*. On the Northern *Himálaya* is the celebrated lake *Mánaſa*, ſaras, or *Mánaſaróvara*, near *Suméru*, the *abode of Gods*, who are repreſented ſometimes as reclining in their bowers, and ſometimes as making aërial excurſions in their *Vimánas*, or *heavenly cars*. Thus on, or within, the

the Southern *Himâlaya*, we find the Lake of the Gods, which corresponds with that in the north; with this difference, that the existence of the southern lake cannot be doubted, while that of the northern may well be called in question, (unless there be such a lake in the unknown region between *Tibet* and the high plains of *Bokhára*;) for what the *Sannyásis* call *Mánasárovar*, is, in truth, the *Vindhyàsaras* of the *Puráns*. Beyond the Southern Lake of the Gods is another *Méru*, the seat also of divinities, and the place of their airy jaunts; for it is declared in the *Puráns*, as the *Bráhmens* inform me, that within the mountains, towards the source of the *Nílá*, there are delightful groves, inhabited by deities, who divert themselves with journeying in their cars from hill to hill. The *Greeks* gave to that Southern *Méru* the appellation of Θεῶν ὄχημα, in allusion to the *Vímáns*, or *celestial cars*; but they meant a range of hills, according to PLINY and AGATHEMERUS, *(a,)* not a single insulated mountain. PLINY, who places that mountainous tract in the south of *Ethiopia*, makes it project a great way into the southern ocean. Its western limit is mentioned by PTOLEMY; and the *Nubian* geographer speaks of all the three ranges. By the *Chariot of the Gods*, we are to understand the lofty grounds in the centre of the *African* peninsula, from which a great many rivers, and innumerable rivulets, flow in all directions. Fires were constantly seen at night on the summit of those highlands; and that appearance, which has nothing very strange in it, has been fully accounted for by modern travellers.

We come now to the *Hásyasílas*, or *Habashis*, who are mentioned, I am told, in the *Puránas*, though but seldom; and their name is believed to have the following etymology. C'HARMA, having *laughed* at his father SATYAVRA'TA, who had, by accident, intoxicated

(a) Plin. l. 6. c. 30. l. 5. c. 1. l. 2. c. 106. Agathem. B. 2. ch. 9.

cated himself with a fermented liquor, was nicknamed *Hásyásíla*, or the *Laugher;* and his descendants were called from him *Hásyasílas* in *Sanscrit;* and in the spoken dialects, *Hasyas*, *Hanselis*, and even *Habashis;* for the *Arabick* word is supposed by the *Hindus* to be a corruption of *Hásya*. By those descendants of C'HAMA they understand the African Negroes, whom they suppose to have been the first inhabitants of *Abyssinia;* and they place *Abyssinia* partly in the *dwípa* of *Cusha*, partly in that of *Sanc'ha Proper*. Dr. POCOCK was told at the Cataracts, that beyond them, or in the exterior *Cusha-dwíp*, there were *seven* mountains; and the *Bráhmens* particularly affect that number. Thus they divided the old continent into seven large islands, or peninsulas; and in each island we find seven districts, with as many rivers and mountains. The following is the *Paurânic* division of *Cusha-dwíp*, called *exterior*, with respect to that of *Jambu:*

DISTRICTS.	MOUNTAINS.	RIVERS.
Apyáyana.	*Pushpaversha.*	*Nandá.*
Páribhadra.	*Cumudádri.*	*Rajanì.*
Dévaversha.	*Cundádrí.*	*Cuhú.*
Ramanaca.	*Vámadéva.*	*Saraswatì.*
Sumanasa.	*Sataśrìnga.*	*Sinívalì.*
Suróchana.	*Sarasa.*	*Anumatì.*
Avijnyáta.	*[illegible]asrasruti.*	*Rácá.*

It seems unnecessary to set down the etymology of all these names; but it may not be improper to add that *S'ataśrìnga* means *with a hundred peaks;* and *Sahasrasruti*, with *a thousand streams.*

Between the exterior *Cusha-dwíp* and *Sanc'ha Proper* lies, according to the *Puráns*, on the banks of the *Nílá*, the country of *Barbara;* which includes, there-

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fore, all the land between *Syene* and the confluence of the *Nile* with the *Tecazzè*, which is generally called *Barbara* and *Barbar* to this day; but, in a larger ſenſe, it is underſtood by the *Paurànics* to comprize all the burning ſands of *Africa*. *Barbara-déſa*, which anſwers to the *Loca arida et ardentia* mentioned by PLINY as adjacent to the *Nile*, was a fertile and charming country before it was *burned*, according to the *Hindu* legends, which will be found in a ſubſequent ſection; firſt, by the approach of SU'RYA, or the Sun; and afterwards by the influence of SANI, or *Saturn*. Its principal city, where *Barbaréſwara* had a diſtinguiſhed temple, was called *Barbara-ſt'hán*, and ſtood on the banks of the *Nile*. The *Tamóvanſa*, or Children of TAMAS, reſided in it; and it is moſt probably the town of TAMA, which PLINY places on the eaſtern bank of the *Nile*, an hundred and twenty-nine *Roman* miles above *Syene*, (a.)

The crude noun *Tamas*, in the firſt caſe *Tamah*, and *Tamó* before certain conſonants, means *darkneſs*; and it is alſo a title of SANI; whoſe deſcendants are ſuppoſed to have lived in *Barbara*; and are repreſented as an ill-clothed, half-ſtarved race of people, much like the preſent inhabitants of the ſame country. The following fables appear to be aſtrological, but might have had ſome foundation in hiſtory, as the *Hindu* regents of planets were, in truth, old Philoſophers and Legiſlators, whoſe works are ſtill extant:

TAMAH, or SATURN, had two wives; ST'HAVIRA' and JARAT'HA', whoſe names imply *age* and *decrepitude*. By the former he had ſeven ſons, MRĪTYU, CA'LA, DA'VA, ULCA', GHÓRA, ADHAMA, CANTA'CA; by the latter only two, MA'NDYA and GULICA. The ſons of MA'NDYA were A'SUBHA, ARISHT'HA, GULMA, PLÍHA: thoſe of GULICA were GAD'HA and

(a) Plin. lib. 6. cap. 29.

and GRAHILA. They were all abominable men, and their names denote every thing that is horrid. It is exprefsly faid in the *Puránas*, that TAMAH was expelled from *Egypt* exactly at the time when ARAMA, a grandfon of SATYAVRA'TA, died; and his children retired into *Barbara;* and that his grandfon GULMA, reigned over that country when it was invaded by CAPE'NASA, who will prefently appear, beyond a doubt, to be CEPHEUS. The *Tamóvanfas* are defcribed as living in *Barbara Proper*, which is now called *Nubia*, and which lay, according to the *Indian* geography, between the *dwípas* of SANC'HA and of CUSHA *without:* but the other parts of *Barbara*, toward the mouths of the *Nile*, were inhabited by the children of RA'HU; and this brings us to another aftronomical tale, extracted from a book entitled *Chintámaṅi*.

RA'HU is reprefented, on account of his tyranny, as an immenfe river-dragon, or crocodile, or rather a fabulous monfter with four talons, called *Gráha*, from a root implying *violent feizure*. The word is commonly interpreted *hánger*, or *fhark;* but in fome dictionaries it is made fynonymous to *nacra*, or *crocodile;* and in the *Puránas* it feems to be the creature of poetical fancy. The tyrant, however, in his human fhape, had fix children, DHWAJA, DHU'MRA, SINHA, LAGUD'A, DAND'A, and CARTANA, (which names are applied to *comets* of different forms,) all equally mifchievous with their father. In his allegorical character, he was decapitated by VISHNU: his lower extremity became the *Cétu*, or *dragon's tail;* and his head, ftill called *Ráhu*, the *afcending node:* but the head is fuppofed, when it fell on earth, to have been taken up by PIT'HÍNAS, or PIT'HÍN, and by him placed at *Ráhu-ft'hán*, (to which the *Greeks* gave the name of *Heroöpolis)*, where it was worfhipped, and gave oracular anfwers; which may be the origin of the fpeaking heads, mentioned by *Jewifh* writers as prepared by magick. The pofterity of RA'HU were from him denominated *Gráhas;* and they might

might have been the anceſtors of thoſe *Graii*, or *Greeks*, who came originally from *Egypt*. It is remarkable that Hesiod, in his *Theogony*, mentions women in *Africa* named *Graia*, who had fine complexions, and were the offspring of Phorcys and Ce'to. The *Gráhas* are painted by the writers of the *Purânas* in moſt unfavourable colours; but an allowance muſt be made for a ſpirit of intolerance and fanaticiſm. Ra'hu was worſhipped in ſome countries, as Hailal, or Lucifer, (whom in ſome reſpects he reſembles:) was adored in the eaſtern parts of *Egypt*, and in *Arabia*, the *Stony* and the *Deſert*, according to Jerom, in the life of Hilarion; but though we muſt ſuppoſe that his votaries had a very different opinion of the *Gráhas* from that inculcated by the *Hindus*, yet it is certain that the *Greeks* were not fond of being called *Graioi*, and very ſeldom gave themſelves that appellation.

The ſandy deſerts in *Egypt*, to the eaſt and weſt of the *Nile*, are conſidered by the *Purâns* as part of *Barbara*; and this may account for what Herodotus ſays of the word *Barbaros*, which, according to him, was applied by the *Egyptians* to all *who were unable to ſpeak their language*, meaning the inhabitants of the Deſert, who were their only neighbours. Since the people of *Barbara*, or Children of Saturn, were looked upon as a cruel and deceitful race, the word was afterwards transferred to men of that diſpoſition; and the *Greeks* who lived in *Egypt*, brought the appellation into their new ſettlements, but ſeem to have forgotten its primitive meaning.

On the banks of the *Nílá* we find the *Criſhna-giri*, or Black Mountain of *Barbara*, which can be no other than the black and barren range of hills which Mr. Bruce ſaw at a great diſtance towards the *Nile* from *Tarſowey*. In the caves of thoſe mountains lived the *Tamavatſas*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Though the land of *Barbara* be ſaid, in the *Puránas*, to lie between

tween the *dwípas* of CÚSHA and SANC'HA, yet it is generally considered as part of the latter. The *Nile*, on leaving the burning sands of *Barbara*, enters the country of SANC'HA *Proper*, and forces its way through the *Héma-cúta*, or Golden Mountains; an appellation which they retain to this day. The mountain called *Panchrysos* by the *Greeks*, was part of that range which is named *Ollaki* by the *Arabs*: And the *Nubian* geographer speaks of the Golden Mountains, which are a little above *Oswán*. Having passed that ridge, the *Nile* enters *Cardama-st'hán*, or the *Land of Mud*; which obviously means the fertile *Egyptian* valley so long covered with *mud* after every inundation. The *Puránas* give a dreadful idea of that *muddy land*, and assert that no mortal durst approach it: but this we must understand as the opinion formed of it by the first colonists, who were alarmed by the reptiles and monsters abounding in it, and had not yet seen the beauty and richness of its fertile state. It is expressly declared to be in *Misra-st'hán*, or the *Country of a mixed People*; for such is the meaning in *Sanscrit* of the word *Misra*. Sometimes the compound word *Misra-st'hán* is applied to the Lower *Egypt*, and sometimes (as in the history of the wars of *Capénasá*) to the whole country; in which sense, I am told, the word *Gupta-st'hán* is used in ancient books; but I have never yet seen it applied so extensively. *Agupta* certainly means *guarded on all sides*; and *Gupta*, or *guarded*, is the name of a place reputed holy; which was, I doubt not, the famed *Coptos* of our ancient geographers; who mentioned a tripartite arrangement of *Egypt* exactly conformable to the three divisions of *Misra-st'hán*, particularly recorded in the *Puránas*. The first of them was *Tapóvana*, the Woodlands of *Tapas*, or *austere devotion*, which was probably Upper *Egypt*, or *Thebais*: the second, *Misra Proper*, called also *Cantaca-désa*, or the Land of Thorns, which answers to the Lower *Egypt*, or *Heptanomis*; and the third *Aranya* and *Atavi*, or *The Forests*, emphatically so named, which were situated at the mouths of the

the *Nílá*, and formed what we call the *Delta*. The first inhabitants of *Egypt* found, on their arrival, that the whole country about the mouths of the *Nile* was an immense forest; part impervious, which they called *Atavi*, part uninhabited, but practicable, which had the name of *Aranya*.

Tapóvana seems to have been always adapted to religious austerities; and the first *Christian* anchorets used to seclude themselves in the wilds of *Thebes* for the purpose of contemplation and abstracted piety. Thus we read, that the Abbot PACHOMIUS retired, with his disciples, to the wilderness of *Tabenna*, and there built a monastery, the remains of which are still visible, a day's journey below *Dendera*, near an island now called *Tabenna*, and, according to SICARD, a little below the site of *Thebes*. The country around *Dendera* is at this day covered with forests of *daum*; a tree which some describe as a dwarf palm, and others as a *rhamnus*; thence *Dendera* was called by JUVENAL the *shady Tentyra*.

There can be no doubt, that *Tapóvana* was Upper *Egypt*, or the *Thebais*; for several places, the situation of which will be clearly ascertained in the course of this Essay, are placed by the authors of the *Puráns* in the forests of *Tapas*. The words *Thebaius* and *Thebinites*, are both said to be derivatives of *Thebai*; but the second of them seems rather derived from *Tapóvan* or *Tabenna*. So fond are nations of accommodating foreign words to their own language, that the *Arabs*, who have changed *Taposiris* into *Abú'ssair*, or *Father of Travel*, have, in the same spirit, converted *Tabenna* into *Medínatabíná*, or the *Town of our Father*; though some of them call it *Medínat Tabu*, from *Tapó*, which an *Arab* could not pronounce. The principal place in this division was *Cardàma-st'halì*, which is mentioned in the *Puráns* as a temple of considerable note. The legend is, that GUPTE'SWARA and his consort had long been

been *concealed* in the *mud* of the *Nile*, near *Gupta-st'hala* or *Coptos*; but at length sprang from it, and appeared at *Cardamasst'hali*, both wholly besmeared with *mud*; whence they had also the titles of CARDAME'SWARA and CARDAME'SWARÌ. We may observe, that *Gupta* signifies both *guarded* and *concealed*, and in either sense may be the origin of the word *Aiguptos*. As to *Cardama*, the canine letter is so often omitted in the vulgar pronunciation of *Sanscrit* words, that *Cardam* or *Cadam*, seems to be the CADMUS of the *Greeks*, and we shall hereafter illustrate this etymology with circumstances which will fully confirm it.

Mìsra-st'hán is called also *Misra* and *Misrena* in the sacred books of the *Hindus*; where it is said that the country was peopled by a *mixed* race, consisting of various tribes, who, though living for their convenience in the same region, kept themselves distinct, and were perpetually disputing either on their boundaries, or, which is most probable, on religious opinions. They seem to be the *mingled people* mentioned in Scripture. To appease their feuds, BRAHMA' himself descended in the character of ISWARA; whence *Misréswara* became one of his titles. The word *Misr*, which the *Arabs* apply to *Egypt*, and to its metropolis, seems clearly derived from the *Sanscrit*; but, not knowing its origin, they use it for *any large city*, and give the appellation of *Almisrán* in the dual, to *Cúsa* and *Basra*: the same word is also found in the sense of a *boundary*, or *line of separation*. Of *Misr* the dual and plural forms in *Hebrew* are *Misraïm* and *Misrím*, and the second of them is often applied in Scripture to the people of *Egypt*. As to the *Mazor*, or more properly, *Masúr*, there is a difference of opinion among the translators of ISAIAH: (a.) In the old *English* version we find the passage, in which the word occurs, thus rendered, "the brooks "of *defence* shall be emptied and dried up:" but

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(a) Chap. 19. v. 6. See 2 Kings, 18. 24.

Bishop Lowth, after some commentators, changes the brooks of defence into the canals of Egypt; and this is obviously the meaning of the Prophet; though the form of the word be more like the Arabian plural Madáir, than any form purely Hebrew.

Stephanus of Byzantium says, that Egypt was called Myara by the Phenicians; but surely this is a mistake for Mysara: according to Suidas, and Eusebius, it had the name of Mestraia; but this I conceive should be written Mesraia from Misréya, which may be grammatically deduced from the root Misr. The name Cantaca-désa was given to Misra for a reason similar to that of Acanthus, a town and territory abounding in thorny trees.

It was an opinion of the Egyptian priests, and of Herodotus also, when he was in their country, that the valley of Egypt was formerly an arm of the sea, which extended as far as the Cataracts: whether this opinion be well founded, is not now the question; but a notion of the same kind occurs in the Puránas; and the Bráhmens account, in their way, for the alteration which they suppose to have happened. Pramóda, they say, was a king of Sanc'ha-dwíp Proper, and resided on the shore of the sea called Sanc'hódadhi: The country was chiefly peopled by Mléch'has, or such as speak barbarously, and by savage Rácshashas, who are believed to be evil demons; nor was a single Bráhman to be found in the kingdom, who could explain the Védas, and instruct mankind in their duties. This greatly afflicted the pious king; till he heard of a Rishi, or holy man, eminent in piety and in sacred knowledge, who lived in the country of Barbara, and was named Pít'hí, or Pít'hínasa, but was generally distinguished by the title of Pít'hí-rishi. He was visited by Pramóda in person, and after many intreaties, prevailed on to accompany the king to Sanc'ha-dwípa; but, when he saw the incorrigible wickedness of its inhabitants,

tants, he was wholly in despair of effecting any good in that country, and passed the night without sleep. Early in the morning he repaired to the sea-shore; where, taking water and *Cusha*-grass in his hand, he was on the point of uttering an imprecation on Sanc'hódadhi. The God of the Ocean perceived his intent and threw himself trembling at his feet, asking humbly what offence he had committed. "Thy waters (answered the Saint) wash a polluted region, into which "the king has conducted me, but in which I cannot "exist: give me instantly a purer piece of land, on "which I may reside, and perform the duties of reli-"gion." In that instant the sea of Sanc'ha retired for the space of a hundred *yójanas*, or 492 miles, and left the holy man in possession of all the ground appearing on that dereliction. The king, on hearing of the miracle, was transported with joy, and caused a splendid palace to be built on an island in the territory newly acquired: it was called *Pit'hi-st'hán*, because Pit'hi resided in it, having married the hundred daughters of Pramóda; and, on his beginning to read lectures on the *Véda*, he was in a short time attended by numerous disciples. This fable, which had, probably, some foundation in truth, is related in a book entitled *Viśwasára-pracáśa*, or a *Declaration of what is most excellent in the Universe*.

Pit'hi-st'hán could not be very distant from *Carduma-st'halì*, or the city of *Thebes*, to which, according to the *Bráhmánda*, the Sage's daughter, from him called Pait'hinì, used to go almost every day for the purpose of worshipping Maha'de'va: it seems, therefore, to be the *Pathros* of Scripture, named *Pathures* by the *Greek* interpreters, and *Pathùris* by Pliny, from whose context it appears to have stood at no great distance from *Thebes*; and it was, certainly, in Upper *Egypt*. It was probably the same place which Ptolemy calls *Tathyris*, either by mistake, or in conformity to the pronunciation of the *Ethiopians*, who generally

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substituted the letter T for P, which they could not articulate. From the data in PTOLEMY it could not have been above six miles to the west of *Thebes*, and was, therefore, in that large island formed by an arm of the Nile which branches out at *Ermenth*, and rejoins the main body of the river at the *Memnonium*. According to the old *Egyptians*, the sea had left all Upper *Egypt* from the Cataracts as far as *Memphis*; and the distance between those two places is nearly that mentioned in the *Purāṇas*, or about a hundred *yójans*. The God of the Ocean, it seems, had attempted to regain the land which he had been forced to relinquish; but MAHA'DE'VA (with a new title derived from NABHAS, or the *sky*, and ISWARA, or *lord*,) effectually stopped his encroachments; and this was the origin of *Nabha-st'hán*, or *Memphis*, which was the most distinguished among the many considerable places in *Misra*, and which appears to have consisted of several detached parts; as 1. *Ugra-st'hán*, so called from UGRA, the UCHOREUS of the *Greeks*; 2. *Nabhah*, the *Noph* of Scripture; 3. a part named *Misra*; 4. *Móhana-st'hán*, which may, perhaps, be the present *Mohannan*; and 5. *Laya-st'hán*, or *Laya-vatí*, vulgarly pronounced *Layáti*, the suburb of *Lete*, or *Letopolis*.

Rodana-st'hán, or the Place of Weeping, is the island in the lake of *Máríshá*, or *Mœris*, concerning which we have the following *Indian* story in the *Viswasára pracása*.

Pelí-súca, who had a power of separating his soul from his body, voluntarily ascended toward heaven; and his wife, MA'RÍSHA', supposing him finally departed, retired to a wilderness, where she sat on a hillock, shedding tears so abundantly, that they formed a lake round it; which was afterwards named *A'sru-tírt'ha*, or *the Holy Place of Tears*. Its waters were black, or very dark azure; and the same colour is ascribed by STRABO to those of *Mœris*. Her son ME'DHI,

HI, or ME'RHI, SUCA, had also renounced the world, and, seating himself near her, performed the same religious austerities. Their devotion was so fervent, and so long continued, that the inferior Gods began to apprehend a diminution of their own influence. At length MA'RÍSHA', dying *petivratà*, or *dutiful to her lord*, joined him among the *Vishnu-lóca*, or inhabitants of VISHNU's heaven; and her son, having solemnized the obsequies of them both, raised a sumptuous temple, in which he placed a statue of VISHNU, at the seat of his *weeping* mother; whence it acquired the appellation of *Rôdana-st'hána*. "They who make ablutions in the lake of *Asru tírt'ha* (says the *Hindu* "writer) are purified from their sins, and exempt "from worldly affections, ascending after death to "the heavenly VISHNU; and they who worship the "Deity at *Rôdana-st'hán*, enjoy heavenly bliss, with-"out being subject to any future transmigration." No lake in the world, except that of *Mœris*, corresponds, both in name and in circumstances, with that of *Asru-tírt'ha*, and the island in the midst of it, which was also callen *Mérhi*, or *Mérhi-st'hán*, from the name of the prince who consecrated it. The two statues on it were said by the *Greeks* to be those of MOERIS and his Queen; but they appear from the *Purànas* to have been those of VISHNU, or OSIRIS, and of MA'RÍSHA', the mother of MOERIS; unless the image of the God was considered in substance as that of the departed king, who, in the language of the *Hindu* theologians, was wholly *absorbed* in the divine essence. Three lakes, in the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, have names in the *Puráns'* derived from *aśru*, or tears. First, *Sócásru*, or *Tears of Sorrow*, another name for *Asru-tírt'ha*, or *Mœris*; secondly, *Hershásru*, or *Tears of Joy*; and, thirdly, *'Anandasru*, or *Tears of an inward pleasurable Sensation*; to both which belong legendary narratives in the *Purânas*. One of the infernal rivers was named *Asrumatì*, or the *Tearful*; but the first of them was *Vaitaranì*, where a boatman had been stationed to ferry

ferry over the souls of mortals into the region of YAMA. The word *vitarana*, whence the name of the river is derived, alludes to the *fare* given for the passage over it.

III. We must now speak particularly of *Sanc'ha-dwípa Proper*, or the *Island of Shells*, as the word literally signifies; for *Sanc'ha* means a sea-shell, and is generally applied to the large buccinum. The Red Sea, which abounds with shells of extraordinary size and beauty, was considered as part of the *Sanc'hábdhi*, or *Sanc'hódadhi*; and the natives of the country before us wore large collars of shells, according to STRABO, both for ornament and as amulets. In the *Purânas*, however, it is declared, that the *dwípa* had the appellation of *Sanc'ha* because *its inhabitants lived in shells*, or in caverns of rocks hollowed like shells, and with entrances like the mouths of them. Others insist, that the mountains themselves, in the hollows of which the people sought shelter, were no more than immense heaps of shells thrown on shore by the waves, and consolidated by time. The strange idea of an actual habitation in a shell was not unknown to the *Greeks*, who represent young NERITES, and one of the two CUPIDS, living in shells on the coasts of that very sea. From all circumstances collected, it appears, that *Sanc'ha-dwípa*, in a confined sense, was the *Troglodytica* of the ancients, and included the whole western shore of the Red Sea; but that, in an extensive acceptation, it comprised all *Africa*. The *Troglodytes*, or *inhabitants of caves*, are called in Scripture also, *Sukím*, because they dwelt in *sucas*, or *dens*; but it is probable that the word *suca*, which means a *den* only in a secondary sense, and signifies also an *arbour*, a *booth*, or a *tent*, was originally taken in the sense of a *cave*, from *Sanc'ha*; a name given by the first inhabitants of the *Troglodytica* to the rude places of shelter which they found or contrived in the mountains, and which bore some resemblance to the mouths of large *shells*. The word *Sanç'ha-dwípa* has also in

in fome of the *Purânas* a fenfe yet more limited, and is reftrained to the land inhabited by the fnake *Sanc'ha-nágà*, which included the mountains of *Hubáb*, or the Serpent, and the *Abyffinian* kingdom of *Tigrè*. The fame region is, however, fometimes called *Sanc'ha-vanu*, and is reported to be a wonderfully fine country, watered by noble rivers and ftreams, covered with forefts of the moft ufeful and beautiful trees, and a hundred *yógans* in length, or 492 miles; a dimenfion which correfponds exactly enough with a line drawn from the fouthern limit of *Tigrè* to the northern extremity of the *Hubáb* Mountains. It lay between the *Cálicá*, or *Cálà*, and the fea. Its principal river was the *Sanc'ha-négà*, now called *Máreb*; and its capital city, near the fea-fhore, where the royal fnake refided, had the name of *Côtimì*: not far from which was a part of the mountain *Dyutimán*, or *brilliant*, fo called from the precious metals and gems with which it abounded.

In the *Dherma-fáftra*, both *Nágas* and *Garudás* are named as *races of men* defcended from Atri, concerning whom we fhall prefently fpeak more at large; but, in the language of mythology, the *Nágas*, or *Uragas*, are large *ferpents*; and the *Garudás*, or *Supernas*, immenfe *birds*, which are either the *Condors* of M. Buffon, and *Vulture Griffons* of Linnæus, called *Rokhs* by the *Arabian* fabulifts, and by Marco Polo, or mere creatures of imagination, like the Símorg of the *Perfians*, whom Sadi defcribes as receiving his daily allowance on the mountain of *Káf*. Whatever be the truth, the legend of *Sanc'ha nágà* and *Garudá*, is told in the ancient books of the *Hindus*.

The King of Serpents formerly reigned in *Chacra-giri*, a mountain very far to the eaftward; but his fubjects were obliged by the power of Garud'a to fupply that enormous bird with a fnake each day. Their king at length refufed to give the daily pro-

vifion,

vision, and intercepted it himself, when it was sent by his serpentine race. This enraged GARUD'A, who threatened to devour the snakes and their king: nor would his menaces have been vain, if they had not all retired to *Sanc'ha-dwip*, where they settled in *Sanc'ha-vana*, between the *Cálì* and the sea, near the station of SWA'MI CA'RTICE'YA, God of Arms, where they are supposed to live still unmolested, because GARUD'A dares not approach the mansion of that more powerful divinity. "They (says the *Indian* writer) who "perform yearly and daily rites in honour of SANC'-"HA-NA'GA will acquire immense riches." That royal serpent is also called *Sanc'ha-muc'ha*, because his mouth was like that of a shell; and the same denomination is given to the rocks on which he dwelt. The Mountains of Snakes are mentioned by the *Nubian* Geographer, and are to this day called *Hubáb*, which in *Arabick* means a snake in general, according to JAUHERI, and *a particular species of serpent*, according to MAIDA'NI. The same region was named *Ophiusa* by the *Greeks*, who sometimes extended that appellation to the whole *African* continent. The breath of *Sanc'ha-nágà* is believed by the *Hindus* to be a *fiery poisonous wind*, which burns and destroys animals and vegetables to the distance of a hundred *yójans* round the place of his residence; and by this hypothesis they account for the dreadful effects of the *samùm*, or hot *envenomed* wind, which blows from the mountains of *Hubáb* through the whole extent of the Desert. Two *Rishis*, or *Saints*, named AGASTI and A'STICA, undertook to stop so tremendous an evil. The first of them repaired for that purpose to *Sanc'ha-vana*, where he took his *abode* at a place thence called *Agasti-bhuvana*, near the sea-shore, and not from *Cótimì*; but the gentle means to which he had recourse with the royal snake proved ineffectual. A'STICA, by harsher measures, had more success; and made the snake (say the *Bráhmens*) not only tractable, but even well-disposed to all such as respectfully approached

him,

him. He even reduced the ſize of the ſerpent ſo much, as to carry him about in an earthen veſſel: and crowds of people are now ſaid to worſhip him at the place of his reſidence near the river *Cálì*. This is, probably, th[illegible] ſnake HEREDI, ſo famed throughout *Egypt*. The A[illegible] insiſt that it is a *Shaikh* of that name tranſformed [illegible]o a ſnake; the *Chriſtians*, that it is ASMODEUS, mentioned in the book of TOBIT; the *Aſhmúghdív* of the *Perſian* romances; and the *Hindus* are equal to them in their ſuperſtitious notions. My learned friends at *Cásì* inform me, that the ſacred ſnake is at this day viſited by travelling *Sannyáſis;* but I cannot aſſert this as a fact, having never ſeen any *Hindu* who had travelled ſo far. Thoſe whom I have ſeen, had never gone beyond the *Euphrates:* but they aſſured me, that they would have paſſed that river, if they had not been deterred by reports of diſturbances among the *Arab* chiefs to the weſtward. The boldeſt religious adventurers among the *Sannyáſis* are thoſe from the north-weſt of *India;* for no native of *Bengal*, or, indeed, of the countries eaſt of the *Ganges*, would now attempt (at leaſt I never heard of any who had attempted) ſuch perilous journies. As to the belief of the *Hindus*, that A'STICA put an effectual ſtop to the fiery breath of *Sanc'ha-nágà*, or the *Samúm*, it appears, from the relation of Mr. BRUCE, that the ſecond public-ſpirited ſaint had no more ſucceſs than the firſt.

We muſt obſerve, that *naga*, or *motionleſs*, is a *Sanſcrit* name for a *mountain;* and that *nágà*, its regular derivative, ſignifies both a *mountain-ſnake* and a wild *elephant:* accordingly we read of an *elephant-king* in *Sanc'ha*, who reigned on the banks of the *Mareb*, thence called *Sanc'ha nágà;* and when CRISHNA had ſlain both him and his ſubject elephants, their *bones* were heaped on the banks of the *Tacazzè*, which from that event had the name of *As'himati*.

The

The other parts of *Sanc'ha-dwip Proper*, adjacent to the sea, were inhabited by the subjects of SANC'HA'-SURA, whose palace was a *shell* in the ocean: but they are said to have resided in *shells* on or near the mountains of the *African* continent. They are represented as cannibals, and even as demons incarnate, roaming by night, and plundering the flat country, from which they carried off men, women, and children, whom they devoured *alive;* that is, perhaps, as raw flesh is now eaten in *Abyssinia*. From this account it should seem, that the *Sanc'hasuras* lived in the caves of mountains along the coast, while their king resided in a cavern of the small island *Suakem*, where there still is a considerable town, in the middle of a large bay. He there, probably, concealed his plunder; and thence was reported to dwell in the ocean. The name of that island appears to have been derived from *Sukkìm*, the plural of *Sukh*, in *Hebrew*, and the *Sanc'h* of the *Hindus*. By the ancient geographers it is called both *Sukhæ*, and the *Harbour of preserving Gods*, from the *preservation*, I suppose, of *Sanc'ha-dwip*, and its inhabitants, by the *divine* assistance of CRISHNA; who, with an army of deities, attacked and defeated SANC'-HA'SURA, pursuing him even through the sea, where he drew the monster from his *shell*, and put him to death.

Besides these first inhabitants of *Sanc'ha-dwipa*, who are described by the mythologists as *elephants*, *demons*, and *snakes*, we find a race, called *S'hanc'há-yanas*, who are the real *Troglodytes*, or *Shangalas;* for *la* is a regular termination of *Sanscrit* adjectives, as *Bhágala*, fortunate; *Sinhala*, lion-like; *Bengala*, which properly means *belonging* to the country of *Benga*. They were descendants of ATRI, before named, whose history, being closely connected with that of the *Sacred Isles* in the west, deserves peculiar attention. He sprang (say the writers of the *Puránas)* from the mind of BRAHMA', who appointed him a *Prajápati*, or *Lord of Creatures*, commanding him to produce a numerous

race,

race, and entrusting him with the *Védas*, which had existed eternally in the divine idea, that he might instruct his posterity in their civil and religious duties. ATRI first repaired to a western region, where he became the father of the lovely *Tubina-raśmi*, or with [illegible] He thence passed into the country watered by [illegible] river *Sanc'ha-nágà*, where proceeding to the *Sanc'ha-muc'ha* hills, he sat on the *Swéta-giri*, or *White Mountain*, fixed in deep meditation on the author of his existence. His arrival was quickly known throughout the country; and the few inhabitants of it came to worship him, bringing even their wives and daughters, that they might bear children by so holy a personage: but his days and nights being wholly devoted to contemplation and sacred acts, his only time for dalliance was during the morning twilight. He became, however, the ancestor of a considerable nation, who were distributed, like other *Hindus*, into the sacerdotal, military, commercial, and servile classes.

His first born, SANC'HA'YANA, had a fair complexion, and great bodily strength; but was irreligious, turbulent, and libidinous, eating forbidden flesh, and living in the caverns of rocks. Nor were his brethren and their offspring better in the end than himself. Thus the *Jews*, who have borrowed many *Indian* fables, which were current, I suppose, among their neighbours, insist, in their *Talmud*, that ADAM begat none but demons till he was 150 years old, (*a*) The pious patriarch, deeply afflicted by the vices of his children, expostulated with them long in vain; and seeing no remedy, contented himself with giving them the best advice; teaching them how to make more habitable caves in the mountains; *pallis*, or arbours under trees; and *ghóshas*, or inclosures, for their herds; permitting them to eat what they pleased; commanding them to dwell constantly on the mountains assigned to them, and

(*a*) Eruvin, p. 18.

and to take particular care of the ſpot which their foreſather inhabited, calling it from his name *Atri-ſt'hán*. After this arrangement, he left them, and went to the country near the *Sindhu*, or *Indus*, ſettling on the *Dévanícá* Mountains, where he avoided the *morning-twilight*, which had before been unproſperous, and produced a race eminent in virtue; for whom, when they multiplied, he built the famous city of *Nagara*, emphatically ſo called, and generally named *Déva-nagara*, which ſtood near the ſite of the modern *Cábul*.

Since the *Swéta-giri*, on which *Atri-ſt'hán* is declared to have ſtood, was at no great diſtance from the river *Sanc'ha-nágà*, it is moſt probably the ſame with the *Amba-tzaada*, or White Mountain, mentioned by Mr. Bruce, who ſays, that it is the moſt conſiderable ſettlement of the *Shangalas*. It ſtands almoſt due north-weſt from *Dobarowa*, and is nearer by one-third to the *Mareb* than to the *Tacazzè*. The *pallis*, or arbours, of the *Shangalas* are fully deſcribed by Mr. Bruce, in a manner entirely conformable to the deſcriptions of them in the *Puránas*, except that they are not ſaid always to be covered with ſkins. The *Pális* of *India* live ſtill in ſimilar arbours during the greateſt part of the year. That the *Sanc'háyanas* were the predeceſſors of the *Shangalas*, I have no doubt; though the former are ſaid to have white complexions, and the latter to be black; for, not to inſiſt that the climate alone would, in a long courſe of years, effect a change of complexion, it is probable that the race might be mixed, or that moſt of the old and genuine *Sanc'halas* might have been exterminated; and Pliny mentions a race of white *Ethiopians*, who lived to the weſt of the *Nile*, (a.) Though *Atri-ſt'hán* be applied in the *Puráns* to the country alſo of the *Sanc'háyanas*, as well as to the ſtation of

Atri,

(a) Lib. 5. Cap. 70.

ATRI, yet the regular derivative from his name is *A'tréyà*; and we find accordingly a part of *Ethiopia* named *Ætheria* by the *Greeks*, who called its inhabitants *Etherü*. And STRABO confines this appellation to a particular tribe, who seem to be the *Attiri* of PTOLEMY, and live near the confluence of the *Tacazzè* and the *Mareb*, (a). They were *A'tréyas*, or descended from ATRI: but the *Greeks*, as usual, referred a foreign epithet to a word in their own language. In the *Dionysiacks* of NONNUS we read of Αἰθέρος Μερόης, which is translated *Meroë*, with *perpetual summer*; but surely the word can have no such meaning; and *Meroë* must have been so named, because it was once the capital of *Ætheria*, (b).

It appears from the *Puráns*, that the *Sanc'háyanas*, or old *Shangalas*, were not destitute of knowledge; and the *Bráhmens* admit that they possessed a part at least of the *Védas*.

IV. The history of the *Cutila-cétas*, or men with *curled-hair*, is disguised in the following legend. SAGARA, an ancient monarch, who gave his name to the *ságara*, or *ocean*, was going to perform the *Aswa-médha*, or *sacrifice of a horse*; when INDRA descended, and stole the victim, which he conveyed to a place near the mouth of the *Gangà*, where the sage CAPILA was intent on his religious austerities. The God of the Firmament there tied the horse by the side of the holy man, and retired unperceived by him. The monarch, missing the consecrated horse, dispatched his *sixty thousand* sons, or descendants, in search of him. They roved over the whole earth, and finding him at last near the mansion of CAPILA, accused him of the sacrilege, and began to treat him with violence; but a flame issued from the eyes of the saint, which consumed them all in an instant. Their father,

(a) Strabo, B. 11. p. 82. (b) Dionys. B. 17. v. 396.

father, being apprifed of their death, fent an army againft CAPILA, who ftood fixed to receive them; and, when they approached, unbound his *jatà*, or *long plaited hair*, and, giving it a twift, ftruck the ground twice or thrice with it, cafting an *obl*[illegible] glance of contempt on his adverfaries. In th[illegible] ment an army of men, with *curled hair*, fp[illegible] from the earth, attacked the legions of SAGARA, and defeated them. After their victory, they returned to the fage, afking who they were, and demanding a fit place of abode. CAPILA told them, that they were *Jatâpat*, or produced by the *fall of his locks* on the ground; that from the *fide look* which he had caft on his enemies, their hair was *cutila*, or crifp; that they fhould thence be called *Cutilas* and *Cutilas-céfas*; that they muft be *yát'hata'hyas*, or live *as they were* when produced by him; that is, always prepared for juft war; that they muft repair to *Sanc'ha-dwip*, and form a fettlement, in which they would encounter many difficulties, and be continually harraffed by bad neighbours; but that, when CRISHNA fhould overpower and deftroy SANC'HA'SURA, he would eftablifh their empire, and fecure it from future moleftation. They accordingly travelled through the interior *Cufha-dwípa*, where the greateft part of them chofe to remain, and received afterwards a terrible overthrow from PARASU-RA'MA. The others paffed into *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, and fettled on the banks of the *Câli*; but having revolted againft DE'VANAHUSHA, they were almoft wholly extirpated by that potent monarch.

Violent feuds had long fubfifted between the family of GAUTAMA on one fide, and thofe of VISWA'MITRA and JAMADAGNI on the other. The kings of *Cufha-dwip within* took the part of GAUTAMA; and the *Haihayas*, a very powerful nation in that country, (whom I believe to have been *Perfians*,) were inveterate againft JAMADAGNI, whom they killed after defeating his army. Among the confederates in *Cufha-dwipa*

dwípa were the *Rómacas*, or dressed in *hair-cloth*; the *Sacas*, and a tribe of them called *Sacasénas*; the *Hindus* of the *Cshatriya* clafs, who then lived on the banks of the *Cacshus*, or *Oxus*; the *Párasicas*, a nation beyond the *Nile*; the *Barbaras*, or people of *Nubia*; the [illegible]nts of *Cámbója*; the *Cirátas* and *Haritas*, two tribes of the *Pális*; and the *Yavanas*, or anceftors of the *Greeks*. These allies entered *India*, and defeated the troops of VISWA'MITRA in the country called *Yudha-bhúmi*, or the Land of War; now *Yehud*, between the *Indus* and the *Behat*.

PARAŚU-RA'MA, the fon of JAMADAGNI, but fuppofed afterwards to have been a *portion* of the divine effence in a human form, was enraged at the fuccefs of the confederates, and circulated a publick declaration, that NA'RED had urged him to extirpate them entirely; affuring him, that the people of *Cusha-dwípa*, who dwelt in the hollows of mountains, were *cravyádas*, or *carnivorous*; and that their King CRAVYA'DA'DHIPETI, or *Chief Ruler of Cannibals*, had polluted both *earth* and *water*, which were two of the eight *forms* of I'SA, with the mangled limbs and blood of the ftrangers, whom he and his abominable fubjects had cruelly devoured. After this proclamation, PARAŚU-RA'MA invaded *Cusha-dwíp*, and attacked the army of CRAVYA'DA'DHIPETI, who ftepped from the ranks, and challenged him to fingle combat. They began with hurling rocks at each other; and RA'MA was nearly crufhed under a mountain thrown by his adverfary; but, having difengaged himfelf, he darted huge ferpents, which enfolded the giant in an inextricable maze, and at length deftroyed him. The *blood* of the monfter formed the *Lohita-c'hamda*; and that of his army, the *Lohitódá*, or *river* with *bloody waters*. It is, I believe, the *Adonis* of the ancients, now called *Nahru Ibráhìm*, the waters of which, at certain feafons of the year, have a fanguine tint. I fuppofe CRAVYA'DA'DHIPETI to be the LYCURGUS

EDONOS of the *Greeks*, who reigned in *Palestine*, and in the country around *Damascus*. His friend CAICE'YA, whom the *Greeks* called ORONTES, renewed the fight, and was also slain. Then came the King of the *Cutila-césas*, and MAHA'SYA'MA, ruler of the *Syáma-muc'has*, and usually residing in *Arva-st'hán*; or *Arabia*; the former of whom I conceive to be BLEMYS; and the second ARABUS, whom the *Greek* Mythologists also named OROBANDAS and ORUANDES. They fought a long time with valour, but were defeated; and, on their humiliating themselves, and imploring forgiveness, were allowed to retire, with the remains of their army, to the banks of the *Cálì*, where they settled; while PARA'SU-RA'MA, having terminated the war in *Cusha-dwípa*, returned to his own country, where he was destined to meet with adventures yet more extraordinary.

This legend is told nearly in the same manner by the poet NONNUS, a native of *Egypt*; who says, that, after the defeat of LYCURGUS, the *Arabs* yielded, and offered sacrifices to BACCHUS; a title corrupted from BHAGAVAT, or the *preserving power*, of which a *ray* or *portion* had become incarnate in the person of PARA'-SU-RA'MA. He relates, that "BLEMYS, with *curled-*"*hair*, chief of the *ruddy* or *Erythrean Indians*, held "up a bloodless olive branch with the supplicating "troops, and bowed a servile knee to DIONYSOS, who "had slain his *Indian* subjects; that the God, behold-"ing him bent to the ground, took him by the hand, "and raised him; but conveyed him, together with "his many-tongued people, far from the dark *Ery-*"*threan Indians* (since he abhorred the government "and manners of DERIADEUS) to the skirt of *Arabia*; "that he, near the contiguous ocean, dwelt in the "happy region, and gave a name to the inhabitants of "its towns; but that rapid BLEMYS passed onward to "the mouth of the *Nile* with seven branches, destined "to be contemporary ruler over the people of *Ethiopia*; "that

" that the low ground of *Etherian Meroë* received him
" as a chief, who ſhould leave his name to the *Blemyes*
" born in ſubſequent ages, *(a)*."

The emigration of the *Cuśila-céſas* from *India* to
[illegible] s mentioned likewiſe by PHILOSTRATUS in his
life of APOLLONIUS. When that ſingular man viſited
the *Bráhmens* who lived on the hills to the north of
Srí-nagara, at a place now called *Trilocí-náráyana*,
near the banks of the *Cédára-gangà*, the chief *Brahman*,
whom he calls IARCHAS, gave him the following
relation concerning the origin of the *Ethiopians*.
" They reſided (ſaid he) formerly in this country,
" under the dominion of a king named GANGES; du-
" ring whoſe reign the Gods took particular care of
" them, and the earth produced abundantly whatever
" was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; but, having ſlain
" their king, they were conſidered by other *Indians* as
" defiled and abominable. Then the ſeeds which they
" committed to the earth rotted; their women had
" conſtant abortions; their cattle was emaciated; and,
" wherever they began to build places of abode, the
" ground ſunk, and their houſes fell. The ſpirit of
" the murdered king inceſſantly haunted them, and
" would not be appeaſed until the actual perpetrators
" of the murder had been buried alive; and even then
" the earth forbad them to remain longer in this coun-
" try. Their ſovereign, a ſon of the river *Ganges*,
" was near ten cubits high, and the moſt majeſtic
" perſonage that ever appeared in the form of man.
" His father had once very nearly overflowed all *India*;
" but he directed the courſe of the waters towards
" the ſea, and rendered them highly beneficial to the
" land; the goddeſs of which ſupplied him, while he
" lived, with abundance, and fully avenged his death,
" *(b)*." The baſis of this tale is unqueſtionably

 Indian,

(a) Dionyſiac. B. 17. v. 385—397.
(b) Philoſtr. Apollon. B. 3. ch. 6.

Indian, though it be clearly corrupted in some particulars. No *Bráhmen* was ever named *Iarchas*, which may be a corruption of *Arsha*, or *Arcsha*, or, possibly, of YASCA, the name of a sage, who wrote a glossary for the *Védas*: nor was the *Ganges* ever considered as a *male* deity; but the son of GANGA', or GA'NGE'YA, was a celebrated hero. According to the *Hindu* legends, when CAPILA had destroyed the children of SAGARA, and his army of *Cuśila-césas* had migrated to another *dwípa*, the *Indian* monarch was long inconsolable; but his great grandson BHAGÍRAT'HA, conducted the present *Ganges* to the spot where the ashes of his kindred lay; and they were no sooner touched by the divine water, than the sixty thousand princes sprang to life again. Another story is, that, when the *Ganges*, and other great rivers, were swoln to such a degree, that the Goddess of Earth was apprehensive of a general inundation, BHAGÍRAT'HA (leaving other holy men to take care of inferior rivers) led the *Ganges* (from him named *Bhágirat'hì*) to the ocean, and rendered her salutary to the earth, instead of destructive to it. These tales are obviously the same in substance with that told by IARCHAS, but with some variations, and additional circumstances. APOLLONIUS most certainly had no knowledge of the *Indian* language; nor is it, on the whole, credible, that he was ever in *India* or *Ethiopia*, or even at *Babylon*. He never wrote an account of his travels: but the sophist PHILOSTRATUS, who seems to have had a particular design in writing the history of his life, might have possessed valuable materials, by the occasional use of which he imposed more easily on the publick. Some traveller might have conversed with a set of ignorant *Sannyásis*, who had (what most of them now have) an imperfect knowledge of ancient legends concerning the *Déváats*: and the description which PHILOSTRATUS gives of the place in the hills, where the supposed *Bráhmens* resided, corresponds exactly with a place called *Trilócí-náráyana* in the *Puráns*,

Purâns, which has been described to me from the information of *Sannyásis*, who ignorantly called it *Triyóginaráyan;* but for a particular account of it, I must refer to a geographical and historical description of the *Ganges*, and the countries adjacent to it, which I have nearly completed.

The people named *Cutila-césas* are held by some *Bráhmens* to be the same with the *Hásyasílas*, or at least a branch of them; and some suppose that the *Hásyasílas* are the before mentioned remnant of the *Cutila-césas*, who first settled on the banks of the *Nile*, and, after their expulsion from *Egypt* by DE'VA-NAHUSHA, were scattered over the *African* deserts. The *Gaitúli*, or *Gaityli*, were of old the most powerful nation in *Africa;* and I should suppose them to be the descendants of the first *Cutilas*, or *Cutils*, (for so they are frequently called, especially in conversation,) who settled first near the *Cálì* river, and were also named *Hásyasílas:* but they must have dwelt formerly in *Bengal*, if there be any historical basis for the legend of CAPILA, who was performing acts of religious austerity at the mouth of the *Ganges*, near old *Ságar*, or *Gangá*, in the *Sunderbans*. They were black, and had curled hair, like the *Egyptians* in the time of HERODOTUS: but at present there are no such negroes in *India*, except in the *Andaman* Islands, which are now said to be peopled by cannibals, as they were, according to PTOLEMY, at least eighteen hundred years ago. From *Andaman* the *Greeks* made *Eudaimon*, and conceived it to be the residence of a *good Genius*. It is certain, that very ancient statues of *Gods* in *India* have crisp hair, and the features of negroes. Some have caps, or tiaras, with curls depending over their *foreheads*, according to the precise meaning of the epithet *Cutilálaca*. Others, indeed, seem to have their locks curled by art, and braided above in a thick knot; but I have seen many idols on which the woolly appearance of the hair was so well represented as to preclude all

 doubt;

doubt; and we may naturally ſuppoſe that they were made by the *Cutila-céſas* when they prevailed in this country. The *Bráhmens* aſcribe theſe idols to the *Bauddhas*; and nothing can hurt them more, than to ſay that any of their own Gods had the figure of *Habaſhis*, or Negroes: and even the hair of Buddha himſelf, for whom they have no ſmall degree of reſpect, they conſider as twiſted in braids, like that of ſome modern *Sannyáſis*: but this will not account for the thick lips and flat noſes of thoſe ancient images: nor can it reaſonably be doubted, that a race of negroes formerly had power and pre-eminence in *India*. In ſeveral parts of *India*, the mountaineers have ſtill ſome reſemblance to negroes in their countenance and hair, which is curled, and has a tendency to wool. It is very probable that, by intermarriages with other outcaſts, who have black complexions, but ſtraight hair, they have changed in a courſe of ages, like the *Cutila-céſas*, or old *Egyptians*: for the modern *Copts* are far from anſwering to the deſcription given by Herodotus; and their features differ conſiderably from thoſe of the mummies, and of ancient ſtatues brought from *Egypt*, whence it appears that their anceſtors had large eyes with a long ſlit, projecting lips, and folded ears of a remarkable ſize.

V. Of the *Syáma-muc'has*, who migrated from *India*, the origin is not yet perfectly known; but their faces were black, and their hair ſtraight, like that of the *Hindus* who dwell on the plains. They were, I believe, the *ſtraight-haired Ethiops* of the ancients, (a;) and their king, ſurnamed Maha'sya'ma, or the *Great Black*, was probably the king Arabus, mentioned by the *Greek* mythologiſts, who was contemporary with Ninus. They were much attached to the *Cutila-céſas*, whence we may infer, that the religious tenets of the two nations were nearly the ſame. It is believed that they were the firſt inhabitants of *Arva-ſt'hán*, or *Arabia*; but

(a) Ἰθύτριχες. Herod. Polyhymn.

but passed thence into *Africk*, and settled on the banks of the *Nile.* The part of *Egypt* which lies to the east of that river, is by some considered as part of *Arabia*; and the people who lived between the *Mediterranean* and *Meroë*, were by JUBA said to be *Arabs.*

VI. The first origin of the *Dánavas*, or Children of DANU, is as little known as that of the tribe last mentioned; but they came into *Egypt* from the west of *India*; and their leader was BELI, thence named DA'NAVE'NDRA, who lived at the time when the *Padmamandira* was erected on the banks of the *Cumudavatì*. The *Dánavas*, whom he governed, are frequently mentioned in the *Puránas* among the inhabitants of countries adjacent to the *Cálì.*

As to the *Strí-rájya*, or country *governed by women*, the *Hindus* assert, that the sovereign of it was always a Queen; and that all her officers, civil and military, were females; while the great body of the nation lived as in other countries; but they have not in this respect carried the extravagance of fable to the same pitch with the *Greeks* in their accounts of the *Amazons*. It is related in the *Mallári Máhátmya* that when RA'VANA was apprehensive of being totally defeated, he sent his wives to distant countries, where they might be secure: that they first settled on the *Indian* peninsula, near the site of *Srírangapattana*, or *Seringapatnam*; but that being disturbed in that station, part of them proceeded to the north of *Dwáracà*, in *Gujarát*, and part into *Sanc'ha-dwípa*, where they formed a government of women, whence their settlement was called *Strí-rájya*. It was on the sea-shore, near the *Cula* Mountains, extending about forty *yójanas* in length, and surrounded by low swampy grounds, named *Jalabhúmi*, in *Sanscrit*, and *Daldal* in the vulgar idiom. *Strí-rájya*, therefore, must be the country of *Sabá*, now *Assab*, which was governed by a celebrated Queen, and the land round which has to this day the name

name of *Taltal.* The *Cula* Mountains are that range which extends from *Dobarowa* (the *Coloë* of the ancient geographers) to the source of the *Tacazzè*, which Ptolemy calls the Marsh of *Coloë*; a word which I suppose to be derived from the *Sanscrit.*

VII. Yavana is a regular participal form of the root *yu*, to *mix*; so that *yavana*, like *misra*, might have signified no more than a *mingled* people: but since *yóni*, or the *female nature*, is also derived from the same root, many *Pandits* insist that the *Yavanas* were so named from their obstinate assertion of a superior influence in the *female* over the *linga*, or *male nature*, in producing a perfect offspring. It may seem strange that a question of mere physiology should have occasioned not only a vehement religious contest, but even a bloody war; yet the fact appears to be historically true; though the *Hindu* writers have dressed it up, as usual, in a veil of extravagant allegories and mysteries, which we should call obscene, but which they consider as awfully sacred. They represent Na'ra'yana *moving* (as his name implies) *on the waters*, in the character of the *first male*, and the *principle* of all nature, which was wholly surrounded in the beginning by *Tamas*, or *Darkness*, the *Chaos* and primordial *Night* of the *Greek* mythologists; and, perhaps, the *Thaumaz*, or *Thamas*, of the ancient *Egyptians*. The *Chaos* is also called Pracriti, or crude Nature; and the male deity has the name of Purusha, from whom proceeded *Sacti*, or *power*, which, when it is ascribed to the earth, in contradistinction to the waters, is denominated *A'hára S'acti*, or, the *power of containing* or *conceiving*; but that *power*, in its first state, was rather a *tendency* or *aptitude*, and lay dormant, or inert, until it was excited by the *bíja*, or vivifying principle of the plastick I'swara. This *power*, or aptitude, of nature, is represented under the symbol of the *yóni*, or *bhaga*, while the *animating principle* is expressed by the *linga*. Both are united by the creative power, Brahma'; and the *yóni* have been called

the

the *navel* of VISHNU; not identically, but nearly; for though it is held, in the *Védánta*, that the Divine Spirit penetrates or pervades all nature, and though the *cti* be considered as an emanation from that Spirit, yet the emanation is never wholly detached from its source, and the penetration is never so perfect as to become a total union or identity. In another point of view, BRAHMA' corresponds with the *Chronos*, or Time, of the *Greek* mythologists: for through him generations pass on successively; ages and periods are by him put in motion, terminated, and renewed, while he dies and springs to birth alternately; his existence or energy continuing for a hundred of *his* years, during which he produces and devours all beings of less longevity. VISHNU represents *Water*, or the humid principle; and I'SWARA, *Fire*, which recreates or destroys, as it is differently applied. PRIT'HIVÍ, or *Earth*, and RAVI, or the *Sun*, are severally *trimúrtis*, or *forms* of the *three* great powers acting jointly and separately, but with different natures and energies; and by their mutual action, excite and expand the rudiments of material substances. The word *múrti*, or form, is exactly synonymous with εἴδωλον; and, in a secondary sense, means an image: but in its primary acceptation it denotes any *shape* or *appearance* assumed by a celestial being. Our *vital souls* are, according to the *Védánta*, no more than images, or εἴδωλα, of the *Supreme Spirit*; and HOMER places the *idol* of HERCULES in *Elysium* with other deceased heroes, though the God himself was at the same time enjoying bliss in the heavenly mansions. Such a *múrti*, say the *Hindus*, can by no means affect with any sensation, either pleasing or painful, the being from which it emaned; though it may give pleasure or pain to collateral emanations from the same source: hence they offer no sacrifices to the Supreme Essence, of which our own souls are *images*, but adore him with silent meditation; while they make frequent *homás*, or *oblations* to fire, and perform acts of worship to the *Sun*, the *Stars*, the *Earth*, and the powers

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of *Nature*, which they consider as *múrtis*, or images, the same in kind with ourselves, but transcendently higher in degree. The Moon is also a great object of their adoration; for, though they consider the Sun and Earth as the two grand agents in the system of the universe, yet they know their reciprocal action to be greatly affected by the influence of the lunar orb according to their several aspects, and seem even to have an idea of *attraction* through the whole extent of nature. This system was known to the ancient *Egyptians;* for, according to DIODORUS, *(a,)* their VULCAN, or *elemental fire*, was the great and powerful deity whose influence contributed chiefly toward the generation and perfection of natural bodies; while the ocean, by which they meant *water* in a collective sense, afforded the nutriment that was necessary; and the *Earth* was the vase, or capacious receptacle, in which this grand operation of nature was performed: hence ORPHEUS described the Earth as the *universal Mother;* and this is the true meaning of the *Sanscrit* word *Ambá*. Such is the system of those *Hindus* who admit an equal concurrence of the two principles: but the declared followers of VISHNU profess very different opinions from those adopted by the votaries of I'SWARA. Each sect, also, is subdivided according to the *degree* of influence which some of them allow to be possessed by that principle, which on the whole they depreciate: but the pure *Vaishnavas* are, in truth, the same with the *Yónijas*, of whom we shall presently give a more particular account.

This diversity of opinion seems to have occasioned the general war which is often mentioned in the *Puránas*, and was celebrated by the poets of the West as the basis of the *Grecian* mythology: I mean that between the Gods, led by JUPITER, and the Giants, *or Sons of the Earth*, or, in other words, between the followers of I'SWARA and the *Yónijas*, or men produced, as they asserted, by PRIT'HIVI,

(a) Diod. Sic. B. 1.

VI, a *power* or *form* of VISHNU; for NONNUS exprefsly declares (a) that the war in queftion arofe between the partizans of JUPITER and thofe *who acknowledged no other Deities but Water and Earth.* According to both NONNUS and the *Hindu* mythologifts, it began in *India*, whence it was fpread over the whole globe; and all mankind appear to have borne a part in it.

Thefe religious and phyfiological contefts were difguifed in *Egypt* and *India* under a veil of the wildeft allegories and emblems. On the banks of the *Nile*, OSIRIS was torn in pieces; and on thofe of the *Ganges*, the limbs of his confort I'sí, or SATÌ, were fcattered over the world, giving names to the places where they fell, and where they ftill are fuperftitioufly worfhipped. In the book entitled *Mahá calá fanhitá*, we find the *Grecian* ftory concerning the wanderings of DAMATER and the lamentations of BACCHUS; for I'SWARA, having been mutilated, through the imprecations of fome offended *Munis*, rambled over the whole earth, bewailing his misfortune: while I'sí wandered alfo through the world, finging mournful ditties in a ftate of diftraction. There is a legend in the *Servarafa*, of which the figurative meaning is more obvious. When SATÌ, after the clofe of her exiftence as the daughter of DACSHA, fprang again to life in the character of PA'RVATÍ, or *Mountain Born*, fhe was reunited in marriage to MAHA'DE'VA. This divine pair had once a difpute on the comparative influence of the fexes in producing animated beings, and each refolved, by mutual agreement, to create apart a new race of men. The race produced by MAHA'DE'VA was very numerous, and devoted themfelves exclufively to the worfhip of the male deity; but their intellects were dull, their bodies feeble, their limbs diftorted, and their complexions of different hues. PA'RVATÍ had at the fame time created a multitude of

(a) Dionyf. B. 34. v. 241.

of human beings, who adored the female power only, and were all well ſhaped, with ſweet aſpects, and fine complexions. A furious conteſt enſued between the two races, and the *Lingajas* were defeated in battle. But MAHA'DE'VA, enraged againſt the *Yóni-jas*, would have deſtroyed them with the fire of his eye, if PA'RVATÌ had not interpoſed, and appeaſed him: but he would ſpare them only on condition that they ſhould inſtantly leave the country, with a promiſe to ſee it no more; and from the *yóni*, which they adored as the ſole cauſe of their exiſtence, they were named *Yavanas*. It is ſaid, in another paſſage, that they ſprang from the cow S'AVILA'; but that cow was an incarnation of the goddeſs I'SÍ; and here we find the *Egyptian* legend adopted by the *Greeks* of Io and ISIS. After their expulſion, they ſettled, according to the *Purânas*, partly on the borders of *Varahá-dwíp*, and partly in the two *dwípas* of CUSHA, where they ſupported themſelves by predatory excurſions and piracy, and uſed to conceal their booty in the long graſs of *Cuſha*-dwíp *within*: but PA'RVATÌ conſtantly protected them; and, after the ſevere puniſhment of their revolt againſt DE'VANAHUSH, or DIONYSIUS, gave them a fine country, where in a ſhort time they became a flouriſhing nation. Thoſe *Yavanas* who remained in the land of CUSHA, and on the banks of the *Câlì*, were perhaps the *Hellenick* ſhepherds mentioned in *Egyptian* hiſtory; and it is probable that great part of thoſe who had revolted againſt DIONYSIUS, retired, after their defeat, into *Greece*. All the old founders of colonies in that country had come originally from *Egypt*; and even the *Athenians* admitted that their anceſtors formerly reſided in the diſtricts round *Saïs*.

It is evident that the ſtrange tale in the *Servaraſa* was invented to eſtabliſh the opinion of the *Yónyan-citas*, or votaries of DE'VÍ, that the good ſhape, ſtrength, and courage of animals, depend on the ſu-

perior influence of the female parent, whose powers are only excited, and put into action, by the male *aura*: but the *Lingáncitas* maintain an opposite doctrine; and the known superiority of mules begotten by horses over those which are brought forth by mares, appears to confirm their opinion, which might also be supported by many other examples from the animal and vegetable worlds. There is a sect of *Hindus*, by far the most numerous of any, who, attempting to reconcile the two systems, tell us, in their allegorical style, that PA'RVATÌ and MAHA'DE'VA found their concurrence essential to the perfection of their offspring; and that VISHNU, at the request of the Goddess, effected a reconciliation between them: hence the *navel* of VISHNU, by which they mean the *os tincæ*, is worshipped as one and the same with the sacred *yóni*. This emblem too was *Egyptian*; and the mystery seems to have been solemnly typified, in the temple of JUPITER AMMON, by the vast *umbilicus* made of stone, and carried, by eighty men, in a *boat*, which represented the *ossa navicularis*. Such, I believe, was the mystical *boat* of ISIS, which, according to LACTANTIUS, was adored in *Egypt*, *(a.)* We are assured by TACITUS, that the *Suevi*, one of the oldest and most powerful *German* nations, worshipped ISIS in the form of a ship: and the *Chaldeans* insisted that the *Earth*, which, in the *Hindu* system, represents PA'RVATÌ, was shaped and hollowed like an immense *boat*. From *Egypt* the type was imported into *Greece*; and an *umbilicus* of white marble was kept at *Delphi*, in the sanctuary of the temple, where it was carefully wrapt up in cloath, *(b.)* The mystical *boat* is called also, by *Greek* mythologists, the *cup* of the Sun, in which HERCULES, they say, traversed the Ocean; and this HERCULES, according to them, was the son of JUPITER: but the *Greeks*, by whom the notion of an *avatára*, or *descent* of a god in a human form, had not

(a) Lactant. Divin. Instit. L. 1. C. 2. *(b)* Strabo, B. 9. 420.

not been generally adopted, considered those as the *sons*, whom the *Hindus* consider as *incarnate rays* or *portions* of their several deities. Now JUPITER was the I'SWARA of the *Hindus*, and the OSIRIS of the *Egyptians*; and HERCULES was an *avatára* of the same divinity, who is figured, among the ruins of *Luxorein*, in a *boat*, which eighteen men bear on their shoulders. The *Indians* commonly represent this mystery of their physiological religion by the emblem of a *Nymphæa*, or Lotos, *floating like a boat* on the boundless ocean; where the whole plant signifies both the Earth, and the two principles of its fecundation. The *germ* is both *Méru* and the *linga*: the *petals* and *filaments* are the mountains which encircle *Méru*, and are also a type of the *yóni*; the leaves of the *calyx* are the *four* vast regions to the cardinal points of *Méru*: and the *leaves* of the plants are the *dwípas*, or isles, round the land of *Jambu*. Another of their emblems is called *Argha*, which means a *cup*, or *dish*, or any other *vessel* in which *fruit* and *flowers* are offered to the deities, and which *ought* always to be *shaped like a boat*; though we now see *arghas* of many different forms, oval, circular, or square; and hence it is that I'SWARA has the title of *Arghanát'ha*, or the *Lord of the boat shaped vessel*. A rim round the *argha* represents the mysterious *yóni*; and the *navel* of VISHNU is commonly denoted by a convexity in the centre, while the contents of the vessel are symbols of the *linga*. This *argha*, as a type of the *ádhára-śacti*, or *power of conception*, excited and vivified by the *linga*, or *Phallus*, I cannot but suppose to be one and the same with the ship *Argo*, which was built, according to ORPHEUS, by JUNO and PALLAS, and according to APOLLONIUS, by PALLAS and ARGUS, at the instance of JUNO, (a.) The word *Yóni*, as it is usually pronounced, nearly resembles the name of the principal *Hetruscan* Goddess; and the *Sanscrit* phrase *Arghanát'ha* I'SWARA seems accurately rendered by PLUTARCH,

(a) Orph. Argon. v. 66. Apoll. Rhod. B. 2. v. 1190.

Plutarch, when he aſſerts that Osiris was commander of the *Argo*, (a.) I cannot yet affirm, that the words *p'hala*, or *fruit*, and *p'hulla*, or a *flower*, had ever the ſenſe of *Phallus*: but fruit and flowers are the chief oblations in the *argha*; and *trip'hala* is a name ſometimes given, eſpecially in the weſt of *India*, to the *triſúla*, or trident, of Maha'de'va. In an Eſſay on the Geographical Antiquities of *India*, I ſhall ſhow that the Jupiter *Triphylius* of the *Panchæan* Iſlands was no other than Siva holding a *trip'hala*, who is repreſented alſo with *three eyes*, to denote a triple energy; as Vishnu and Prit'hiví are ſeverally typified by an equilateral *triangle*, (which likewiſe gives and idea of *capacity*;) and conjointly, when their powers are ſuppoſed to be combined, by two ſuch equal triangles interſecting each other.

The three ſects which have been mentioned, appear to have been diſtinct alſo in *Greece*. 1. According to Theodoret, Arnobius, and Clemens of *Alexandria*, the *Yóni* of the *Hindus* was the ſole object of veneration in the myſteries of *Eleuſis*. When the people of *Syracuſe* were ſacrificing to goddeſſes, they offered cakes in a certain ſhape, called μύλλοι; and in ſome temples, where the prieſteſſes were probably ventriloquiſts, they ſo far impoſed on the credulous multitude, who came to adore the *yóni*, as to make them believe that it ſpoke, and gave oracles. 2. The rites of the *Phallus* were ſo well known among the *Greeks*, that a metre, conſiſting of three torchees only, derived its name from them. In the opinion of thoſe who compiled the *Puránas*, the *Phallus* was firſt publickly worſhipped, by the name of *Báléſwara-linga*, on the banks of the *Camudvatí*, or *Euphrates*: and the *Jews*, according to *Rabbi* Acha, ſeem to have had ſome ſuch idea, as we may collect from their ſtrange tale concerning the different earths which formed the body of Adam, (b.) The middle ſect, however, which

(a) Plut on *Iſis* and *Oſiris*.
(b) Gemara Sanhedrin, C. 30. cited by *Reland*.

which is now prevalent in *India*, was generally diffused over ancient *Europe;* and was introduced by the *Pelargi*, who were the same, as we learn from HERODOTUS, with the *Pelasgi.* The very word *Pelargos* was probably derived from *P'hala* and *Argha*, those mysterious types, which the latter mythologists disguised under the names of PALLAS and ARGO; and this conjecture is confirmed by the rites of a deity, named PELARGA, who was worshipped near *Thebes* and *Bœotia*, and to whom, says PAUSANIAS, no victim was offered, but *a female recently covered and impregnated;* a cruel sacrifice, which the *Indian* law positively forbids, but which clearly shows the character of the goddess to whom it was thought acceptable. We are told that her parents were POTNEUS and ISTHMIAS, or BACCHUS and INO, (for the *Baccantes* were called also *Potniades*,) by whom we cannot but understand OSIRIS and ISIS, or the I'SWARA and I'SÌ of the *Hindus.* The three words *ambà*, *nábhi*, and *argha*, seem to have caused great confusion among the *Greek* mythologists, who even ascribed to the earth all the fanciful shapes of the *argha*, which was intended at first as a mere emblem: hence they represented it in the shape of a *boat*, of a *cup*, or of a quoit with a boss in the centre, sloping towards the circumference where they placed the ocean. Others described it as a square or a parallelogram, *(a;)* and *Greece* was supposed to lie on the summit, with *Delphi* in the *navel*, or central part of the whole, *(b;)* as the *Jews*, and even the first *Christians*, insisted that the true *navel* of the earth was *Jerusalem;* and as the *Muselmans* hold *Mecca* to be the *mother of cities*, and the *náfi zemin*, or earth's *navel.* All these notions appear to have arisen from the worship of which we have been treating. The *yóni* and *nábhi*, or navel, are together denominated *ambà*, or *mother;* but gradually the words *ambà*, *nábhi*, and *argha*, have become synonymous: and as

(a) Agathem, B. 1. C. 1. (b) Pind. Pyth. 6. Eurip. Ion. v. 222.

as ἄμβη and *umbo* seem to be derived from *ambà*, or the circular *argha*, with a boss like a target, so ὀμφαλὸς and *umbilicus* apparently spring from the same root: and even the word *navel*, though originally *Gothick*, was the same anciently with *nábhi* in *Sanscrit*, and *náf* in *Persian*. The sacred *ancilia*, one of which was revered as the *Palladium* of *Rome*, were probably types of a similar nature to the *argha;* and the shields which used to be suspended in temples, were possibly votive *ambás*. At *Delphi* the mystick *Omphalos* was continually celebrated in hymns as a *sacred pledge* of divine favour, and the *navel of the world*. Thus the mystick boat was held by some of the first emigrants from *Asia* to be their palladium, or pledge of safety, and as such was carried by them in their various journies; whence the poets feigned that the ARGO was borne over mountains on the shoulders of the *Argonauts*. I know how differently these ancient emblems of the *Hindus*, the *lotos* and mount *Méru*, the *argha*, or sacred vessel, and the name *Arghanát'ha*, would have been applied by Mr. BRYANT; but I have examined both applications without prejudice, and adhere to my own as the more probable, because it corresponds with the known rites and ceremonies of the *Hindus*, and is confirmed by the oldest records of their religion.

Such have been, according to the *Puránas*, the various emigrations from *India* to *Cusha-dwíp;* and hence part of *Africa* was called *India* by the *Greeks*. The *Nile*, says THEOPHYLACT, flows through *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, and *India*, (a). The people of *Mauritania* are said, by STRABO, to have been *Indians*, or *Hindus*, (b;) and *Abyssina* was called Middle *India* in the time of MARCO PAOLO. Where OVID speaks of ANDROMEDA, he asserts, that she came from *India;* but we shall show, in another Section, that the scene of her adventures

(a) B. 7. C. 17. (b) B. 17. p. 828.

adventures was the region adjacent to the *Nile*. The country between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* had the names both of *India* and *Ethiopia*. Even *Arachosia* is called *White India* by ISIDORUS: and we have already mentioned the *Yellow India* of the *Persian*, and the *Yellow Indians* of the *Turkish* geographers. The most venerable emigrants from *India* were the *Yádavas*: they were the *blameless* and pious *Ethiopians* whom HOMER mentions, and calls the *remotest* of *mankind*. Part of them, say the old *Hindu* writers, remained in this country; and hence we read of two *Ethiopian* nations, the Western and the Oriental. Some of them lived far to the east; and they are the *Yádavas* who stayed in *India*; while others resided far to the west, and they are the sacred race, who settled on the shores of the *Atlantick*. We are positively assured by HERODOTUS, that the oriental *Ethiopians* were *Indians*; and hence we may infer, that *India* was known to the *Greeks*, in the age of HOMER, by the name of Eastern *Ethiopia*. They could not then have known it by the appellation of *India*; because that word, whatever may be its original meaning, was either framed or corrupted by the *Persians*, with whom, as long as their monarchs remained satisfied with their own territories, the *Greeks* had no sort of connection. They called it also the land of *Panchæa*; but knew so little of it, that, when they heard of *India*, through their intercourse with the *Persians*, they supposed it to be quite a different country. In *Persian*, the word *Hindu* means both an *Indian*, and any thing *black*; but whether, in the latter sense, it be used metaphorically, or was an adjective in the old language of *Persia*, I am unable to ascertain. It appears from the book of ESTHER, that *India* was known to the *Hebrews* in *Persia* by the name of *Hodu*, which has some resemblance to the word *Yadu*, and may have been only a corruption of it. *Hindu* cannot regularly be derived, as an *English* writer has suggested, from a *Sanscrit* name of the Moon, since that name is INDU; but it may be corrupted from

Sindhu,

Sindhu, or the *Indus*, as a learned *Bráhman* has conjectured; for the hiſſing letter is often changed into an aſpirate; and the *Greek* name for that river ſeems to ſtrengthen his conjecture. Be it as it may, the words *Hindu* and *Hinduſt'hán*, occur in no *Sanſcrit* book of great antiquity: but the epithet *Haindava*, in a derivative form, is uſed by the poet CA'LIDA'S. The modern *Bráhmens*, when they write or ſpeak *Sanſcrit*, call themſelves *Hindus*: but they give the name of *Cumára-c'handa* to their country on both ſides the *Ganges*, including part of the Peninſula; and that of *Núga-c'handa* to the diſtricts ſituated on the *Indus*.

Next to the emigration of the *Yádavas*, the moſt celebrated was that of the *Pális*, or *Páliputras;* many of whoſe ſettlements were named *Páliſt'hán*, which the *Greeks* changed into *Palaiſtinè*. A country ſo called was on the banks of the *Tigris*, and another in *Syria*. The river *Strymon* had the epithet *Palaiſtinos*. In *Italy* we find the *Paleſtini;* and at the mouth of the *Po*, a town called *Philiſtina;* to which may be added the *Philiſtinæ foſſiones*, and the *Philiſtinæ arenæ* in *Epirus*. As the *Greeks* wrote *Palai* for *Páli*, they rendered the word *Paliputra* by *Palaigonos*, which alſo means the offspring of *Páli;* but they ſometimes retained the *Sanſcrit* word for *ſon;* and the town of *Palaipatrai*, to this day called *Paliputra* by the natives, ſtood on the ſhore of the *Helleſpont*. Theſe diſquiſitions, however, would lead me too far; and I proceed to demonſtrate the ancient intercourſe between *Egypt* and *India*, by a faithful epitome of ſome mythological and aſtronomical fables which were common to both thoſe countries.

SECTION THE SECOND.

OSIRIS, or, more properly, YSIRIS, according to HELLANICUS, was a name uſed in *Egypt* for the Su-

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preme Being. (*a.*) In *Sanſcrit* it ſignifies *Lord;* and in that ſenſe is applied by the *Brâhmens* to each of their three principal deities, or rather to each of the principal *forms* in which they teach the people to adore Brahm, or the Great One: and if it be appropriated in common ſpeech to Maha'de'va, this proceeds from the zeal of his numerous votaries, who place him above their two other divinities. Bra'hma, Vishnu, and Maha'de'va, ſay the *Purânics*, were brothers: and the *Egyptian* Triad, or Osiris, Horus, and Typhon, were brought forth by the ſame parent; though Horus was believed to have ſprung from the myſterious embraces of Osiris and Isis before their birth: as the *Vaiſhnavas* alſo imagine, that Hara, or Maha'de'va, ſprang myſtically from his brother Heri, or Vishnu. In the *Hindu* mythology, Bra'hma is repreſented of a red; Vishnu, of a black, or dark azure; and Hara of a white complexion: but in that of *Egypt*, we find Osiris black, Horus white, and Typhon red. The indiſcriminate application of the title I'swara, has occaſioned great confuſion in the accounts which the *Greeks* have tranſmitted to us of *Egyptian* mythology; for the prieſts of *Egypt* were very reſerved on ſubjects of religion; and the *Grecian* travellers had, in general, too little curioſity to inveſtigate ſuch points with ſcrupulous exactneſs. Since Osiris, however, was painted *black*, we may preſume that he was Vishnu, who, on many occaſions, according to the *Purânas*, took *Egypt* under his ſpecial protection. Crishna was Vishnu himſelf, according to the moſt orthodox opinion; and it was he who viſited the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, deſtroyed the tyrant Sanc'ha'sura, introduced a more perfect mode of worſhip, cooled the conflagrations which had repeatedly deſolated thoſe aduſt regions, and eſtabliſhed the government of the *Cutila-cêſas*, or genuine *Egyptians*, on a permanent baſis. Thus Osiris, as we are told by Plutarch, taught the old *Egyptians*

(*a*) Plut. on *Iſis* and *Oſiris*.

Egyptians to make laws, and to honour the Gods. The title *Srì-Bhagavat*, importing *prosperity* and *dominion*, is given peculiarly to Chrishna, or the *black* deity; and the *black* Osiris had also the titles of *Sirius*, *Seirius*, and *Bacchus*. It is related, indeed, that Osiris, or Bacchus, imported from *India* the worship of two divine Bulls; and in this character he was Maha'de'va, whose followers were pretty numerous in *Egypt*: for Hermapion, in his explanation of the hieroglyphicks on the *Heliopolitan* obelisk, calls Horus the Supreme *Lord*, and the author of *Time*, (a.) Now I'swara, or *Lord*, and Ca'la, or *Time*, are among the distinguished titles of Maha'de'va; and obelisks, or pillars, whatever be their shape, are among his emblems. In the *Vrihad-haima*, which appears to contain many curious legends concerning *Egpyt*, it is expressly said, that "I'swara, with his consort "Pa'rvatì, descended from heaven, and chose for "his abode the land of *Miśra*, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*." We must observe, that the *Egyptians* feared and abhorred Typhon, or Maha'de'va, in his character of *the Destroyer*; and the *Hindus* also dread him in that character, giving him the name of *Bhairava*, or *Tremendous*. The *Egyptian* fable of his attempt *to break the Mundane Egg*, is applied to Maha'de'va in the little book *Chandì*, which is chiefly extracted from the *Márcandéya Purán*. There is a striking resemblance between the legendary wars of the three principal Gods in *Egypt* and *India*. As Osiris gave battle to Typhon, who was defeated at length, and even killed, by Horus, so Bra'hma fought with Vishnu, and gained an advantage over him, but was overpowered by Maha'de'va, who cut off one of his five heads; an allegory, of which I cannot pretend to give the meaning.

Plutarch asserts, that the priests of *Egypt* called the Sun *their Lord and King*; and their three Gods

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(a) Ammian. Marcellin.

resolve themselves ultimately into him alone. OSIRIS was the Sun; HORUS was the Sun; and so, I suppose, was TYPHON, or the *power of destruction by heat*; though PLUTARCH says gravely, that *such as maintained that opinion were not worthy to be heard*. The case was nearly the same in ancient *India*; but there is no subject on which the modern *Bráhmens* are more reserved; for when they are closely interrogated on the title of *Déva*, or God, which their most sacred books give to the Sun, they avoid a direct answer, have recourse to evasions, and often contradict one another and themselves. They confess, however, unanimously, that the Sun is an emblem, or image, of their three great deities jointly and individually; that is, of BRA'HMA, or the Supreme One, *who alone exists really and absolutely*; the three male divinities themselves being only *Máyà*, or allusion. The body of the Sun they consider as *Máyà*; but since he is the most glorious and active emblem of GOD, they respect him as an object of high veneration. All this must appear very mysterious; but it flows from the principal tenet of the *Védántis*, that the only being which has absolute and real existence, is the Divine Spirit, infinitely wise, infinitely benign, and infinitely powerful, expanded through the universe; not merely as the *soul of the world*, but as the *provident ruler* of it; sending forth rays or emanations from his own essence, which are the pure vital souls of all animated creatures, whether *moveable* or *immoveable*; that is, (as we should express ourselves,) both *animals* and *vegetables*, and which he calls back to himself, according to certain laws established by this unlimited wisdom. Though *Bráhma* be neuter in the character of the Most High One, yet in that of *Supreme Ruler*, he is named PARAME'SWARA: but through the infinite veneration to which he is entitled, the *Hindus* meditate on him with silent adoration, and offer prayers and sacrifice only to the higher emanations from him. In a mode incomprehensible to inferior creatures,

creatures, they are involved at firſt in the gloom of *Máyà*, and ſubject to various taints from attachment to worldly affections; but they can never be reunited to their ſource, until they diſpel the illuſion by ſelf-denial, renunciation of the world, and intellectual abſtractions; and until they remove the impurities which they have contracted, by repentance, mortification, and ſucceſſive paſſages through the forms of animals, or vegetables, according to their demerits. In ſuch a reunion conſiſts their final beatitude; and to effect it by the beſt poſſible means, is the object of their ſupreme ruler; who, in order to reclaim the vicious, to puniſh the incorrigible, to protect the oppreſſed, to deſtroy the oppreſſor, to encourage and reward the good, and to ſhow all ſpirits the path to their ultimate happineſs, has been pleaſed (ſay the *Bráhmens*) to manifeſt himſelf in a variety of ways, from age to age, in all parts of the habitable world. When he acts immediately, without aſſuming a ſhape, or ſending forth a new emanation, as when a divine ſound is heard from the ſky, that manifeſtation of himſelf is called *ácáſavání*, or an *ethereal voice*. When the voice proceeds from a meteor, or a flame, it is ſaid to be *agnirúpì*, or *formed of fire*: but an *avatára* is a *deſcent* of the deity in the ſhape of a mortal; and an *avántara* is a ſimilar incarnation of an inferior kind, intended to anſwer ſome purpoſe of leſs moment. The Supreme Being, and the celeſtial emanations from him, are *nirácará*, or *bodileſs*, in which ſtate they muſt be inviſible to mortals; but when they are *pratyacſhá*, or *obvious to ſight*, they become *ſácárá*, or *embodied*, either in ſhapes different from that of any mortal, and expreſſive of the divine attributes, as CRISHNA revealed himſelf to ARJUN, or in a human form, which CRISHNA uſually bore; and in that mode of appearing, the deities are generally ſuppoſed to be born of woman, but without any carnal intercourſe. Thoſe who follow the *Púrva Mímánſà*, or Philoſophy of JAIMINI, admit no ſuch incarnations of deities, but inſiſt that the *Dévas* were mere mortals, whom

whom the Supreme Being was pleaſed to endue with qualities approaching to his own attributes; and the *Hindus*, in general, perform acts of worſhip to ſome of their ancient monarchs and ſages, who were deified in conſequence of their eminent virtues. After theſe introductory remarks, we proceed to the ſeveral manifeſtations, in *Egypt*, and other countries adjacent to the *Nile*, of DE'vì, and the three principal Gods of the *Hindus*, as they are expreſsly related in the *Purânas*, and other *Sanſcrit* books of antiquity.

DE'vì, or the *Goddeſs*, and ISì, or the *Sovereign Queen*, is the ISIS of *Egypt*, and repreſents *Nature* in general, but in particular the *Earth*, which the *Indians* call PRIT'HIVì; while *water*, and *humidity* of all kinds, are ſuppoſed, by the *Hindus*, to proceed from VISHNU, as they were by the *Egyptians* to proceed from OSIRIS. This account of ISIS we find corroborated by PLUTARCH: and SERVIUS aſſerts, that the very word ISIS means *Earth* in the language of the *Egyptians*; but this I conceive to be an error.

I. It is related in the *Scânda*, that, when the whole earth was covered with water, and VISHNU lay extended aſleep in the boſom of DE'vì, a lotos aroſe from his navel, and its aſcending flower ſoon reached the ſurface of the flood; that BRA'HMA ſprang from that flower, and, looking round, without ſeeing any creature on the boundleſs expanſe, imagined himſelf to be the firſt born, and entitled to rank above all future beings; yet reſolved to inveſtigate the deep, and to aſcertain whether any being exiſted in it, who could controvert his claim to pre-eminence, he glided, therefore, down the ſtalk of the lotos, and, finding VISHNU aſleep, aſked loudly who he was. "I am the firſt "born," anſwered VISHNU, waking; and when BRA'HMA denied his primogeniture, they had an obſtinate battle, till MAHA'DE'VA preſſed between them in great wrath, ſaying, "It is I who am truly the firſt-born; "but I will reſign my pretenſions to either of you, "who

" who ſhall be able to reach and behold the ſummit
" of my head, or the ſoles of my feet." BRA'HMA' inſtantly aſcended; but having fatigued himſelf to no purpoſe, in the regions of immenſity, yet loth to abandon his claim, returned to MAHA'DE'VA, declaring that he had attained and ſeen the crown of his head, and called, as his witneſs, the firſt-born cow. For this union of pride and falſehood, the angry god ordained, that no ſacred rites ſhould be performed to BRA'HMA; and that the *mouth* of the cow ſhould be defiled, and a cauſe of defilement, as it is declared to be in the oldeſt *Indian* laws. When VISHNU returned, he acknowledged that he had not been able to ſee the feet of MAHA'DE'VA, who then told him, that he was really the firſt-born among the Gods, and ſhould be raiſed above all. It was after this that MAHA'DE'VA cut off the fifth head of BRA'HMA, whoſe pride (ſays the writer of the *Scánda Purán*) occaſioned his loſs of power and influence in the countries bordering on the river *Cálì*. Whether theſe wild ſtories on the wars of the three principal Gods, mean only the religious wars between the ſeveral ſectaries, or whether they have any more hidden meaning, it is evident, from the *Purânas*, which repreſent *Egypt* as the theatre of action, that they are the original legends of the wars between OSIRIS, HORUS, and TYPHON; for BRA'HMA, in his character of all-deſtroying *Time*, correſponds with TYPHON; and MAHA'DE'VA, in that of the *productive principle*, with HORUS, or HARA, who aſſumes each of his characters on various occaſions, either to reſtore the powers, or to ſubdue the opponents, of VISHNU, or active Nature, from whom his auxiliary ſprings. In *Egypt* (ſays PLUTARCH) certain ſacrifices were made even to TYPHON, but only on particular days, and for the purpoſe of conſoling him after his overthrow; as in *India* no worſhip is paid to BRA'HMA, except on particular occaſions, when certain offerings are made to him, but placed at ſome diſtance from the perſon who offers them. The

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Greeks have confounded TYPHON with PYTHON, whoſe hiſtory has no connection with the wars of the Gods, and who will appear in the following ſection to be the PAIT'HÍNASI of the *Hindus.* The idea of MAHA'DE'VA with *his head in the higheſt heaven, and his feet in the loweſt parts of the earth,* is conformable to the language of the Oracle, in its anſwer to NICOCRATES, King of *Cyprus* :

> Οὐρανιος κόσμος κεφαλή,——
> Γαια δέ μοι πόδες——

And the ſame image is expreſſed, word for word, at the beginning of the fourth *Véda,* where the deity is deſcribed as *Mahápuruſha,* or the *Great Male.*

In the ſtory of the war between OSIRIS and TYPHON, mention is made by PLUTARCH, of a ſtupendous *boar,* in ſearch of whom TYPHON travelled, with a view, perhaps, to ſtrengthen his own party, by making an alliance with him. Thus it is ſaid, in the *Vaiſhnavágama,* that *Crórâſura* was a demon, with the face of a *boar,* who, nevertheleſs, was continually reading the *Véda,* and performing ſuch acts of devotion, that VISHNU appeared to him on the banks of the *Brahmaputra,* promiſing to grant any boon that he could aſk. *Crórâſura* requeſted that no creature, then exiſting in the three worlds, might have power to deprive him of life; and VISHNU granted his requeſt: but the demon became ſo inſolent, that the *Dêvatás,* whom he oppreſſed, were obliged to conceal themſelves, and he aſſumed the dominion of the world. VISHNU was then ſitting on a bank of the *Cáli,* greatly diſquieted by the malignant ingratitude of the demon; and, his wrath being kindled, a ſhape, which never before had exiſted, ſprang from his eyes. It was MAHA'DE'VA, in his deſtructive character, who *diſpelled* in a moment the *anxiety* of VISHNU, whence he acquired the ſurname of CHINTA'HARA. With flaming eyes, contracted brows, and his whole countenance diſtorted with anger, he ruſhed toward *Crórâſura,* ſeized him with

with fury, and carried him under his arm in triumph over the whole earth; but at length caſt him lifeleſs on the ground, where he was transformed into a mountain, ſtill called the Mountain of CRÓRA, or the *Boar*. The place where VISHNU ſat by the river *Cálì*, has the name of *Chintáhara-ſt'halì*; and "all they (ſay the "author of the *A'gama*) who are troubled with anxi- "ous thoughts, need only meditate on CHINTA'HARA, "and their cares will be diſſipated." The word *Chintá* was, I imagine, pronounced *Xanthus* by the deſcendants of DARDA'NA'SA, or DARDANUS, who carried into their new ſettlements not only the name, but ſome obſcure notions relative to the power of the deity CHINTA'HARA. The diſtrict of *Troas*, where they ſettled, was called alſo *Xanthè*. There was a town *Xanthus*, in *Lycia*; and a nation of *Xanthi*, or *Xantii*, in *Thrace*. A river of *Lycia* had that name; and ſo had another near *Troy*; in the waters of which grew a plant ſuppoſed capable of *diſpelling cares and terrors*, which both *Greeks* and *Indians* believed to be cauſed by the preſence of ſome inviſible deity, or evil ſpirit,(*a*). The river *Xanthus*, near *Troy*, was vulgarly called *Scamander*; but its ſacred name, uſed in religious rites, was *Xanthus*; as moſt rivers in *India* have different names, popular and holy. XANTHUS, according to HOMER, was a ſon of JUPITER, or, in the language of *Indian* Mythology, an *avántara*, or inferior manifeſtation, of SIVA. Others make him a ſon of the great TREMILUS, (*b*,) whom I ſhould ſuppoſe to be JUPITER *Temelius*, or rather *Tremelius*, worſhipped at *Biennus*, in *Crete*; for the *Tremili*, or *Tremyliæ*, came originally from that iſland. According to STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, the native country of XANTHUS was *Egypt*, (*c*;) and on the ſhores of the *Atlantick* there were monſters ſhaped like bulls, probably ſea-cows, called *Xanthari*. A poet, cited by STEPHANUS under the word *Tremile*, ſays, that XANTHUS, ſon of JUPITER, travelled

(*a*) Plut. on Rivers, art. *Scamander*. (*b*) Steph. Byzant. *Tremile*.
(*c*) See the word *Xanthus*.

travelled with his brothers over the whole world, and *did a great deal of mischief;* that is, according to the *Purános*, destroyed the insolent CRÓRA'SURA, who was probably revered in the more western countries, where VARA'HE'SWARA once reigned according to the *Hindus*, and where they believe his posterity still to live in the shape of white *varáhas*, or *boars*. The legend of the wars between those *varâhas* and the *sarabhas*, a sort of monster, with the face of a lion, and wings like a bird, shall be explained in another essay on *Varáha-dwíp;* and I shall only add in this place, that the war was represented, according to HESIOD, on the shield of HERCULES. At present the place where the temple of AMMON formerly stood, has the name of *Santariah*, which may be derived from some altar anciently dedicated to CHINTA'HARA.

II. We are told in the *Náreda Purán*, that SU'RYA, the regent of the Sun, had chosen a beautiful and well-peopled country in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, for the purpose of performing his devotions; but that he had no sooner begun, than the whole region was in flames, the waters dried up, and all its inhabitants destroyed; since which it has been denominated *Barbara*. The *Dévatás*, it is added, were in the greatest distress; and VISHNU descended, with BRA'HMA, to expostulate with the author of the conflagration. SU'RYA praised and worshipped them, but lamented that his devotion had not prospered, and promised to repair the injuries done by his flames. "It is I (said VISHNU) who "must repair them; and when I shall revisit this "country in the character of CRISHNA, to destroy the "demon SANC'HA'SURA, the land shall cool, and be "replenished with plants and animals. The race of "*Pális* shall then settle here, with the *Cutila-césas*, the "*Yavanas*, and other *Mléch'ha* tribes."

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In the *Uttara-charitra*, and other ancient books, we find many ſtories concerning SU'RYA, ſome of which have a mixture of aſtrological allegory. Once, it ſeems, he was performing acts of auſtere devotion, in the character of TAPANA, or the *Inflamer*, when his conſort PRABHA', or *Brightneſs*, unable to bear his intenſe heat, aſſumed the form of CH'HA'YA', or *Shade*, and was impregnated by him. After a period of a hundred years, when gods and men, expecting a terrible offspring, were in the utmoſt conſternation, ſhe was delivered of a male child, in a remote place, afterwards called *Arki-ſt'hán*, or *Sauri-ſt'hán*, from *Arci* and *Sauri*, the patronymicks of ARCA and SU'RYA. He was the genius of the planet which the *Latians* called SATURN; and acquired among the *Hindus* the epithet of SANI, and SANAISCHARA, or *ſlow-moving*. For twelve years, during his education at *Arki-ſt'hán*, no rain fell; but a deſtructive wind blew continually, and the air blazed with tremendous meteors. A dreadful famine enſued; and the *Dévatás*, together with the *Daityas*, implored the protection and advice of SU'RYA, who directed them to propitiate SANI, by performing religious rites to VISHNU, near the *pippal*-tree, which is an emblem of him; and aſſured them, that, in future ages, the malignant influence of the planet ſhould prevail only during its paſſage through four ſigns of the *Ajavit'hi*, or *Zodiack*. The reign of SU'RYA in *Barbara* continued long; but he reſigned his dominion to SANI, whoſe government was tyrannical. All his pious and prudent ſubjects fled to the hilly countries, bordering on the river *Nandá*; while the irreligious and raſh periſhed in the *deſerts of burning ſand*, to which the baneful eyes of the tyrant reduced all the plains and meadows on which he looked. His father, returning to viſit his ancient realm, and ſeeing the deſolation of the whole country, expelled SANI, and ſent for another of his ſons, named AURVA, who, being appointed ſucceſſor to his brother, purified the land, recalled the holy men from the hills, and made his

his subjects happy in ease and abundance, while he resided at *Aurva-st'hán*, so called from his name: but he returned afterwards to *Vahni-st'hán*, the present *Azarbaiján*, or the *Seat of Fire*, in the interior *Cusha-dwípa*, where he was performing his devotions on *Trisringa*, or the mountain *with three peaks*, at the time when his father summoned him to the government of *Barbara*. Just before that time he had given a dreadful proof of his power; for as ARA'MA, *the son of a son of* SATYAVRA'TA, (and consequently the ARAM of Scripture,) was hunting in that country with his whole army, near a spot where DURVA'SAS, a cholerick saint, and a supposed *avántar* of MAHA'DE'VÁ, was sitting rapt in deep meditation, ARAMA inadvertently shot an arrow, which wounded the foot of DURVA'SAS, who no sooner opened his eyes, than AURVA sprang from them, in the shape of a flame, which consumed ARAMA and his party, together with all the animals and vegetables in *Cusha-dwíp*. It seems to me that AURVA is VULCAN, or the God of Fire, *who reigned*, according to the *Egyptian* priests, *after the Sun*; though some have pretended, says DIODORUS, that he had existed before that luminary; as the *Hindus* alledge, that AGNI, or Fire, had existence in an elementary state before the formation of the Sun, but could not be said to have dominion till its force was concentrated. In another character he is ORUS the Elder, or APOLLO, a name derived, I imagine, from a *Sanscrit* word, implying a power of *dispelling humidity*. No doubt, the whole system of *Egyptian* and *Indian* mythology must at first view seem strangely inconsistent; but, since all the Gods resolve themselves into one, of whom they were no more than *forms* or *appearances*, it is not wonderful that they should be confounded; especially as every emanation from the Supreme Spirit was believed to send forth collateral emanations, which were blended with one another, sometimes recalled, sometimes continued or renewed, and variously reflected or refracted in all directions. Another source of confusion is

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the infinite variety of legends which were invented, from time to time, in *Greece*, *Egypt*, *Italy*, and *India*; and when all the causes of inconsistency are considered, we shall no longer be surprised to see the same appellation given to very different deities, and the same deities appearing under different appellations. To give an example in SATURN: the planet of that name is the SANI of *India*, who (says DIODORUS) was considered by the *Chaldeans* as the most powerful of the heavenly bodies, next to the Sun; but his influence was thought baneful; and incantations, with offerings of certain *perfumes*, were used to avert or to mitigate it. When the name is applied to CRONOS, the Father of the Gods, it means CA'LA, or *Time*, a character both of MAHA'DE'VA and BRA'HMA; but when he is called CHRONOS, he seems to be the gigantick CRAUNCHA of the *Hindus*; while the SATURN of *Latium*, and of the Golden Age, appears to be quite a different person; and his title was probably derived from SATYAVERNA, which implies an age of *veracity* and *righteousness*. BRA'HMA, with a *red* complexion, is worshipped (say the *Puránas)* in the *dwíp* of *Pushcara*, which I suppose to be a maritime country at no great distance from *Egypt*. He was there called the First-born of Nature, Lord of the Universe, and Father of Deities: and the mythology of *Pushcara* having passed into *Greece*, we find CHRONOS represented in those characters, but mild and beneficent to the human race, with some features borrowed from the older system, which prevailed on the banks of the *Nile* and the *Ganges*. I cannot help suspecting that the word *Câla* was the origin of COELUS, or *Coilus*, as ENNIUS wrote it; and the ARHAN of the *Jainas*, who was a *form* of MAHA'-CA'LA, might originally have been the same with URANUS. As to RHEA, there can be no doubt that she is the Goddess RI, whom the *Hindus* call the Mother of the Gods: but some say that she also produced malignant beings: and PLINY tells us that she was the mother of TYPHON, who became sovereign

reign of *Egypt*, (a,) but was deposed and expelled by AVERIS, or HORUS, where we have precisely the story of SANI and AURVA. We cannot but observe, that the succession of the Gods in *Egypt*, according to MANETHO, is exactly in the spirit of *Hindu* mythology, and conformable, indeed, to the *Purânas* themselves; and we may add, before we leave the planets, that, although VRIHASPETI, an ancient legislator and philosopher, be commonly supposed to direct the motions of JUPITER, which now bears his name, yet many of the *Hindus* acknowledge that SIVA, or the God JUPITER, shines in that planet; while the Sun is the peculiar station of VISHNU; and SATURN is directed by BRA'HMA, whom, for that reason, the *Egyptians* abhorred, not daring even to pronounce his true name, and abominating all animals with *red* hair, because it was his colour.

There is something very remarkable in the number of years during which ARCA and his son reigned on the banks of the *Cáli*. The Sun, according to the *Bráhmens*, began his devotions immediately after the flood, and continued it a hundred years. SANI, they say, was born a hundred years after his conception, and reigned a hundred years, or till the death of A'RA'M, who must therefore have died about three hundred years after the deluge, and fifty years before his grandfather; but the *Paúranics* insist that they were years of BRA'HMA. Now one year of mortals is a day and night of the Gods, and 360 of our years is one of theirs: 12,000 of their years, or 4,320,000 of ours, constitute one of their ages, and 2000 such ages are BRA'HMA's day and night, which must be multiplied by 360 to make one of his years: so that the chronology of *Egypt*, according to the *Bráhmens*, would

(a) Lib. 2. Cap. 25. &c.

would be more extravagant than that of the *Egyptians* themselves, according to MANETHO. The *Talmud* contains notions of *divine days* and *years*, founded on passages in Scripture ill understood. The period of 12,000 years was *Etruscan*; and that of 4,320,000 was formed in *Chaldea* by repetitions of the *saros*. The *Turdetani*, an old and learned nation in *Spain*, had a long period nearly of the same kind. But, for particular inquiries into the ancient periods, and the affinity between them, I must refer to other essays, and proceed to the geography of *Egypt*, as it is illustrated by the *Indian* legends.

The place where the Sun is feigned to have performed his acts of religious austerity, is named the *st'hán*, or station, of ARCA, SU'RYA, and TAPANA. As it was on the limit between the *dwípas* of *Cush* and *Sanc'ha*, the *Puráns* ascribed it indifferently to either of those countries. I believe it to be the *Tahpanhés* of Scripture, called *Taphna*, or *Taphnai*, by the seventy Interpreters, and *Daphne* in the *Roman* Itinerary, where it is placed sixteen miles from *Pelusium*. It is mentioned by HERODOTUS, under the name of *Daphnæ Pelusiæ*, *(a,)* and by STEPHANUS under that of *Daphne* near *Pelusium*; but the moderns have corrupted the name into *Safnas*.

Sauri-st'hán, where SANI was born and educated, seems to have been the famed *Beth Shemesh*, or *Heliopolis*, which was built (says DIODORUS) by AETIS, in honour of his father the Sun, *(b)*. AETIS first taught astronomy in *Egypt*; and there was a college of astronomers at *Heliopolis*, with an observatory, and a temple of the Sun, the magnificence and celebrity of which might have occasioned the change of the ancient name into *Súrya-st'hán*, as it was translated by the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*. It is said by the *Hindus*, that SANI, or

(a) B. 2. C. 30. *(b)* B. 6. p. 13.

or ARKI, built ſeveral places of worſhip in the regions adjacent to the *Cálì*; and we ſtill find the town of *Arkico* near the Red Sea, which is not mentioned, indeed, by any of the *Grecian* geographers; but the headland contiguous to it, is called, by PTOLEMY, the Promontory of SATURN. The genius of SATURN is deſcribed in the *Puráns* as clad in a black mantle, with a dark turban looſely wrapped round his head; his aſpect hideous, and his brows knit with anger; a trident in one of his four hands, a cimeter in a ſecond, and in the two others, a bow and ſhafts. The prieſts of SATURN in *Egypt*, where his temples were always out of the towns, are ſaid by EPIPHANIUS to have worn a dreſs nearly ſimilar.

To conclude this head, we muſt add, that the *ſt'hán* of AURVA is now called *Arſu* by the *Copts*, (*a*;) but as AURVA correſponded with ORUS, or APOLLO, the *Greeks* gave it the name of *Apollonopolis*.

III. The metamorphoſis of LUNUS into LUNA was occaſionally mentioned in the preceding Section; but the legend muſt now be told more at length. The God SÓMA, or CHANDRA, was traverſing the earth with his favourite conſort RÓHINÍ; and, arriving at the ſouthern mountain, *Sahyádri*, they unwarily entered the foreſt of *Gaurì*, where ſome men having ſurpriſed MAHA'DE'VA careſſing that Goddeſs, had been formerly puniſhed by a change of their ſex, and the foreſt had retained a power of effecting the like change on all males who ſhould enter it. CHANDRA, inſtantly becoming a female, was ſo afflicted and aſhamed, that ſhe haſtened *far to the weſt*, ſending RÓHINÍ to her ſeat in the ſky, and concealed herſelf in a mountain, afterwards named *Sóma-giri*, where ſhe performed acts of the moſt rigorous devotion. Darkneſs then,

(*a*) Lett. Edif. vol. 5. p. 257.

then covered the world each night: the fruits of the earth were deſtroyed; and the univerſe was in ſuch diſmay, that the *Dévas*, with BRA'HMA at their head, implored the aſſiſtance of MAHA'DE'VA, who no ſooner placed CHANDRI' on his forehead, than ſhe became a male again; and hence he acquired the title of *Chandraśéc'hara*. This fable has been explained to me by an ingenious *Pandit*. To the inhabitants of the countries near the ſource of the *Cáli*, the Moon, being in the manſion of *Róhinì*, or the *Pleiads*, ſeemed to vaniſh behind the ſouthern mountains. Now, when the Moon is in its oppoſition to the Sun, it is the god CHANDRA; but when in conjunction with it, the goddeſs CHANDRI', who was in that ſtate feigned to have conceived the *Pulindas* mentioned in the former Section. The Moon is believed, by the *Hindu* naturaliſts, to have a powerful influence on vegetation, eſpecially on certain plants, and, above all, on the *Sómalatá*, or *Moon-plant*; but its power, they ſay, is greateſt at the *púrnimà*, or full, after which it gradually decays, till, on the dark *tit'hi*, or *amávásyà*, it wholly vaniſhes. This mode of interpretation may ſerve as a clue for the intricate labyrinth of the *Puránas*, which contain all the hiſtory, phyſiology, and ſcience, of the *Indians* and *Egyptians*, diſguiſed under ſimilar fables. We have already made remarks on the *region* and *mountains* of the Moon, which the *Puránas* place in the exterior *Cuſha-dwíp*, or the ſouthern parts of *Africa*; and we only add, that the *Pulindas* conſider the *female* Moon as a *form* of the celeſtial I'SI, or ISIS, which may ſeem to be incompatible with the mythological ſyſtem of *India*: but the *Hindus* have, in truth, an ISIS with *three forms*, called SWAR-DE'VI' in heaven, BHU-DE'VI' on earth, and PA'TA'LA-DE'VI' in the infernal regions. The conſort of the Terreſtrial Goddeſs is named BHU-DE'VA, who reſides on SUME'RU, and is a vicegerent on earth of the three principal deities. He ſeems to be the Βδεὺς of the *Greek* Mythologiſts, and the BUDYAS of

ARRIAN; though the *Grecian* writers have generally confounded him with BUDDHA.

IV. When this earth was covered with waters, MAHA'CA'LA, who floated on their surface, beheld a company of *Apsarases*, or *Nymphs*, and expressed with such force his admiration of their beauty, that MAHA'CA'LÌ, his consort, was greatly incensed, and suddenly vanished. The God. stung with remorse, went in search of her, and, with hasty strides, traversed the earth, which then had risen above the waters of the deluge, as they were dried up or subsided; but the ground gave way under the pressure of his foot at every step, and the balance of the globe was nearly destroyed. In this distress he was seen by the relenting CA'LÌ on the site of *Srirangapattana*; and considering the injury which the universe would sustain by her concealment, she appeared in the character of RA'JARA'JE'SWARÌ, and in the form of a damsel more lovely than an *Apsaras*, on the banks of a river since named *Cálì*. There, at length, he saw and approached her, in the character of RA'JARA'JE'SWARA, and in the shape of a beautiful youth. They were soon reconciled, and travelled together over the world, promoting the increase of animals and vegetables, and instructing mankind in agriculture and useful arts. At last they returned to *Cusha dwip*, and settled at a place which from them was named the *St'hán* of RA'JARA'JE'SWARA, and RA'JARA'JE'SWARÌ, and which appears to be the *Nysa* of *Arabia*, called *Elim* in Scripture, and *El Tor* by modern geographers: but *Al Túr* belongs properly to the interior *dwíp* of *Cusha*. They resided long in that station, conversing familiarly with men, till the iniquities of later generations compelled them to disappear; and they have since been worshipped under the titles of ISA'NA, or ISA; and ISA'NI, or ISÌ.

Since the goddess ISIS made her first appearance in *Egypt*, that country is called her *nursing mother* in an inscription mentioned by DIODORUS. and said to have been

been found on a pillar in *Arabia*. She was reported by the *Egyptians*, to have been *Queen* of that country; and is declared in the *Purâns*, to have reignéd over *Cusha-dwíp within*, as her consort has the title, in the *Arabian* inscription, of *King* OSIRIS; conformably, in both instances, to the characters under which they appeared on the banks of the *Nile*. The place where ISIS was first visible, became of course an object of worship; but, as it is not particularly noticed by the mythologists of the west, we cannot precisely ascertain its situation. It was probably one of the places in the Delta, each of which was denominated ISEUM; and I think it was the town of ISIS, near *Sebennytus*, (*a*,) now called *Bha-beit*, where the ruins of a magnificent temple, dedicated to ISIS, are still to be seen. As YSIRIS came from the western peninsula of *India*, he was considered in *Egypt* as a foreign divinity, and his temples were built out of the towns.

V. BHAVA, the author of *existence*, and consort of AMBA', the *Magna Mater* of the western mythologists, had resolved to set mankind an example of performing religious austerities, and chose for that purpose an *Aranya*, or *uninhabited forest*, on the banks of the *Nile*; but AMBA', named also BHAVA'NÌ and UM'A, being uneasy at his absence, and guessing the place of his retirement, assumed the character of ARANYA-DE'VÌ, or Goddess of the Forest, and appeared sporting among the trees at a place called afterwards *Cámavana*, or the Wood of Desire, from the impression which her appearance there made on the amorous deity. They retired into an *Atavì*, or the impervious forest, whence the Goddess acquired also the title of ATAVÌ-DE'VÌ; and the scene of their mutual caresses had the name of *Bhavátavi-st'hána*, which is mentioned in the *Védas*. The place of their subsequent residence, near the *Nile*, was denominated *Crírávana*, or the Grove of Dalliance;

 and

(*a*) Tab. Peutinger. Plin. Steph. Byzantium.

and that where BHAVA was interrupted in his devotions, was firſt called *Bhava-ſt'hán*, and ſeems to be the celebrated *Bubaſtos*, or, in the oblique caſe, *Burbaſton*, peculiarly ſacred to DIANA, the Goddeſs of Woods. From *Bhavátavì*, which was at ſome diſtance from the *Nile*, in the midſt of an impervious foreſt, the *Greeks* made *Butoi* in the oblique caſe, whence they formed *Buto* and *Butús*: and there alſo ſtood a famous temple of DIANA. The ſituation of *Crírávana* cannot be ſo eaſily aſcertained; but it could not have been far from the two laſt-mentioned places, and was probably in the Delta, where we find a moſt diſtinguiſhed temple of VENUS at *Aphroditopolis*, (a,) now *Atar-bekhi*, which, according to STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, was at no great diſtance from *Atribi*. The Goddeſs had, indeed, laid aſide the character of DIANA when BHAVA perceived her, and aſſumed that of BHAVÁNI, or VENUS. The three places of worſhip here mentioned, were afterwards continually viſited by numerous pilgrims, whom the *Brahmánda-purán*, from which the whole fable is extracted, pronounces entitled to delight and happineſs both in this world and the next.

BHAVE'SWARA ſeems to be the BUSIRIS of *Egypt*; for STRABO aſſerts, poſitively, that no *Egyptian* king bore that name; though altars, on which men were anciently ſacrificed, were dedicated to BUSIRIS; and the human victims of the *Hindus* were offered to the conſort of BHAVE'SWARA. The *Naramédha*, or *ſacrifice of a man*, is allowed by ſome ancient authorities; but ſince it is prohibited under pain of the ſevereſt torture in the next world, by the writers of the *Bráhma*, of the *A'ditya-purán*, and even of the *Bhágavat* itſelf, we cannot imagine that any *Bráhmen* would now officiate at ſo horrid a ceremony; though it is aſſerted by ſome,

(a) Herod. B. 2. C. 41.

ſome, that the *Pamaras*, or *Pariar* nations, in different parts of *India*, diſregard the prohibition; and that the *Carharas*, who were allowed by PARA'SURA'MA to ſettle in the *Cóncan*, to ſacrifice a man, in the courſe of every generation, to appeaſe the wrath of RE'NUCA'-DE'VI`.

Before we quit the ſubject of *Atavì*, we muſt add two legends from the *Bráhmánda*, which clearly relate to *Egypt*. A juſt and brave king, who reigned on the borders of *Himálaya*, or *Imaus*, travelled over the world to deſtroy the robbers who then infeſted it; and, as he uſually ſurpriſed them by *night*, he was ſurnamed NACTAMCHARA. To his ſon NIS'A'CHARA, whoſe name had the ſame ſignification, he gave the kingdom of *Barbara*, near the Golden Mountains, above *Syene;* and NIS'A'CHARA followed, at firſt, the example of his father, but at length grew ſo inſolent as to contend with INDRA, and oppreſſed both *Dévas* and *Dánavas*, who had recourſe to ATAVI`-DE'VI`, and ſolicited her protection. The Goddeſs adviſed them to lie for a time concealed in *Swerga*, by which we muſt here underſtand the *mountains;* and, when the tyrant raſhly attempted to drive her from the banks of the *Nile*, ſhe attacked and ſlew him. The *Dévas* then returned ſinging her praiſes; and on the ſpot where ſhe fought with NIS'A'CHARA they raiſed a temple, probably a pyramid, which from her was called *Atavì-mandira.* Two towns in *Egypt* are ſtill known to the *Copts* by the names of *Atſi*, *Atſich*, and *Itſu;* and to both of them the *Greeks* gave that of *Aphroditopolis*. The diſtrict round the moſt northerly of them is to this day named *Ibrit*, which M. D'ANVILLE with good reaſon thinks a corruption of *Aphrodite;* but *Atavì-mandir* is *Atſi* to the ſouth of *Alkáhirah*, not the *Atſi* or *Itſu* near *Thebes*, which alſo is mentioned in the *Puránas*, and ſaid to have ſtood in the foreſts of *Tapas*.

Another

Another title of the Goddefs was ASHTA'RA', which fhe derived from the following adventure. VIJAYA'S-WA, or *victorious on horfeback*, was a virtuous and powerful king of the country round the *Nifhadha* Mountains; but his firft minifter, having revolted from him, collected an army of *Mléch'has* in the hills of *Gandha-mádan*, whence he defcended in force, gave battle to his mafter, took him prifoner, and ufurped the dominion of his country. The royal captive, having found means to efcape, repaired to the banks of the *Cálì*, and fixing eight fharp iron fpikes in a circle at equal diftances, placed himfelf in the centre, prepared for death, and refolved to perform the moft rigorous acts of devotion. Within that circle he remained a whole year, at the clofe of which the Goddefs appeared to him, iffuing like a flame from the eight iron points; and prefenting him with a weapon called *Aftárá-mudgara*, or a ftaff armed with eight fpikes fixed in an iron ball, fhe affured him, that all men, who fhould fee that ftaff in his hand, muft either fave themfelves by precipitate flight, or would fall dead and mangled on the ground. The king received the weapon with confidence, foon defeated the ufurper, and erected a pyramid in honour of the Goddefs, by the name of ASHTA'RA'-DE'VÌ. The writer of the *Purána* places it near the *Cálì* river in the woods of *Tapas*; and adds, that all fuch as vifit it will receive affiftance from the Goddefs for a whole year. *Afhtan* means *eight*; and the word *ára* properly fignifies the *fpoke of a wheel*, yet is applied to any thing refembling it; but, in the popular *Indian* dialects, *afhta* is pronounced *att*; and the appearance, which STRABO mentions, of the Goddefs APHRODITE under the name of ATTARA, muft, I think, be the fame with that of ASHTA'RA'. The *Afhtaroth* of the *Hebrews*, and the old *Perfian* word *aftárah*, now written *fitárah*, (or a *ftar with eight rays,*) are moft probably derived from the two *Sanfcrit* words. Though the place where VIJAYAS'WA raifed his pyramid, or temple,

was named *Ashtárá-st'hán*, yet, as the Goddefs to whom he infcribed it was no other than ATAVI-*dévì*, it has retained among the *Copts* the appellation of *Atfi*, or *Atfu*, and was called *Aphroditopolis* by the *Greeks*: it is below *Akmim*, on the weftern bank of the *Nile*.

VI. Among the legends concerning the transformation of DE'VI, or Φυσις πολυμορφ☉, we find a wild aftronomical tale in the *Náfatya Sanhitá*, or Hiftory of the *Indian* CASTOR and POLLUX. In one of her *forms*, it feems, fhe appeared as PRABHA' or *Light*; and affumed the fhape of *Afwini*, or a *mare*, which is the firft of the lunar manfions. The Sun approached her in the form of a horfe; and he no fooner had touched her noftrils with his, than fhe conceived *the twins*, who, after their birth, were called *Afwini-cumárau*, or the *two fons* of ASWINÍ. Being left by their parents, who knew their deftiny, they were adopted by BRA'HMA, who entrufted them to the care of his fon DACSHA; and, under that fage preceptor, they learned the whole *Ayurvéda*, or fyftem of medicine. In their early age they travelled over the world, performing wonderful cures on gods and men; and they are generally painted on horfeback, in the forms of beautiful youths, armed with javelins. At firft they refided on the *Cula* Mountains, near *Colchis*; but INDRA, whom they had inftructed in the fcience of healing, gave them a ftation in *Egypt*, near the river *Cálì*, and their new abode was from them called *Afwist'hán*. As medicated baths were among their moft powerful remedies, we find near their feat a pool, named *Abhimatada*, or *granting what is defired*; and a place called *Rúpa-yauvana-st'hala*, or the *land of beauty and youth*. According to fome authorities, one of them had the name of A'SWIN, and the other of CUMA'R; one of NA'SATYA, the other of DASRA; but, by the better opinion, thofe appellations are to be ufed in the dual number, and applied to them both. They are alfo called ASWANA'SAU, or ASWACANA'SAU,

becaufe

because their mother conceived them by her *nostrils;* but they are considered as united so intimately, that *each seems either*, and they are often held to be one individual deity. As twin brothers, the two DASRAS, or CUMA'RAS, are evidently the DIOSCORI of the *Greeks;* but when represented as an individual, they seem to be ÆSCULAPIUS, which my *Pandit* supposes to be ASWICULAPA, or *Chief of the race of Aswi.* That epithet might, indeed, be applied to the Sun; and ÆSCULAPIUS, according to some of the western mythologists, was a form of the Sun himself. The adoption of the twins by BRA'HMA, whose favourite bird was the phœnicopteros, which the *Europeans* changed into a swan, may have given rise to the fable of LEDA: but we cannot wonder at the many diversities in the old mythological system, when we find in the *Purános* themselves very different genealogies of the same divinity, and very different accounts of the same adventure.

ÆSCULAPIUS, or ASCLEPIUS, was a son of APOLLO; and his mother, according to the *Phenicians*, was a goddess, that is, a form of DE'VI'. He too was abandoned by his parents, and educated by AUTOLAUS, the son of ARCAS, *(a.)* The *Aswiculapas*, or *Asclepiades*, had extensive settlements in *Thessaly*, *(b,)* and, I believe, in *Messenia.* The word *Aswinì* seems to have given a name to the town of *Asphynis*, now *Asfun*, in Upper *Egypt;* for *Aswa*, a *Horse*, is indubitably changed by the *Persians* into *Asb*, or *Asp:* but *Aswi-st'hán* was probably the town of *Abydus* in the *Thebais;* and might have been so named from *Abhida*, a contraction of *Abhimatada:* for STRABO informs us that it was anciently a very large city, the second in *Egypt*, after *Thebes;* that it stood about seven miles and a half to the west of the *Nile;* that a celebrated temple of OSIRIS was near it, and a magnificent edifice

(a) Pausan. B. 7. C. 23. (b) Pausan. B. 8. C. 25.

fice in it, called the palace of MEMNON; that it was famed alſo for a well or pool of water, with winding ſteps all round it; that the ſtructure and workmanſhip of the reſervoir were very ſingular, the ſtones uſed in it of an aſtoniſhing magnitude, and the ſculpture on them excellent, (a.) HERODOTUS inſiſts that the names of the DIOSCURI were unknown to the *Egyptians*; but ſince it is poſitively aſſerted in the *Purânas*, that they were venerated on the banks of the *Nile*, they muſt have been revered, I preſume, in *Egypt* under other names. Indeed, HARPOCRATES and HALITOMENION, the twin ſons OSIRIS and ISIS, greatly reſemble the DIOSCURI of the *Grecian* Mythologiſts.

VII. Before we enter on the next legend, I muſt premiſe, that *íḍa*, pronounced *íra*, is the root of a *Sanſcrit* verb, ſignifying *praiſe*, and ſynonymous with *íla*, which often occurs in the *Véda*. The *Rigvéda* begins with the phraſe *Agnim ílé*, or, *I ſing praiſe to fire*. VISHNU then had two warders of his ethereal palace, named JAYA and VIJAYA, who carried the pride of office to ſuch a length, that they inſulted the ſeven *Maharſhis*, who had come, with SANACA at their head, to preſent their adorations: but the offended *Rĭſhis* pronounced an imprecation on the inſolent warders, condemning them to be *adhóyóni*, or *born below*, and to paſs through three mortal forms before they could be re-admitted to the divine preſence. In conſequence of this execration, they firſt appeared on earth as HIRANYA'CSHA, or *Golden-eyed*; and HIRANYACASIPU, or *Clad in gold*; ſecondly, as RA'VANA and CUMBHACARNA; and laſtly, as CANSA and SIS'UPA'LA.

In their firſt appearance they were the twin ſons of CASYAPA and DITI. Before their birth, the body of their mother blazed like the ſun; and the *Dévatas*, unable

(a) Strabo, B. 9. p. 434, 438.

unable to bear its exceſſive *heat* and *light*, retired to the banks of the *Cáli*, reſolving to lie concealed till ſhe was delivered; but the term of her geſtation was ſo long, and her labour ſo difficult, that they remained a thouſand years near the holy river, employed in acts of devotion. At length DE'VÌ appeared to them in a new character, and had afterwards the title of I'DI'TA, or I'LI'TA, becauſe ſhe was *praiſed* by the Gods in their hymns, when they implored her aſſiſtance in the delivery of DITI. She granted their requeſt, and the two *Daityas* were born; after which I'LI'TA-DE'VÌ aſſured mankind, that any woman, who ſhould fervently invoke her in a ſimilar ſituation, ſhould have immediate relief. The *Dévas* erected a temple in the place where ſhe made herſelf viſible to them, and it was named the *ſt'hán* of I'DI'TA, or I'LI'TA; which was probably the sown of *Idithya*, or *Ilithya*, in Upper *Egypt*; where ſacred rites were performed to EITITHYA, or ELEUTHO, the LUCINA of the *Latians*, who aſſiſted women in labour. It ſtood cloſe to the *Nile*, oppoſite to Great *Apollonopolis*, and ſeems to be the *Leucothea* of PLINY. This goddeſs is now invoked in *India* by women in child-bed, and a burnt-offering of certain perfumes is appropriated to the occaſion.

VIII. We read in the *Mahad-himálaya-c'handa*, that, after a deluge, from which very few of the human race were preſerved, men became ignorant and brutal, without arts or ſciences, and even without a regular language; that part of *Sanc'ha-dwip*, in particular, was inhabited by various tribes, who were perpetually diſputing; but that I'SWARA deſcended among them, appeaſed their animoſities, and formed them into a community of citizens *mixed* without invidious diſtinctions; whence the place where he appeared was denominated *Miśra-ſt'hán*; that he ſent his conſort VA'GE'SWARÍ, or the Goddeſs of Speech, to inſtruct the riſing generations in arts and language; for which purpoſe ſhe alſo viſited the *dwíp* of CUSHA. Now the ancient

ancient city of MISRA was *Memphis*; and when the feat of government was transferred to the oppofite fide of the river, the new city had likewife the name of *Mifr*, which it ftill retains; for *Alkâhirah*, or the Conqueress, vulgarly *Cairo*, is merely an *Arabick* epithet.

VA'GI'SWARA, or VA'GI'SA', commonly pronounced BAG'I'SWAR, and BA'GI'S, means the Lord of *Speech*; but I have feen only one temple dedicated to a god with that title: it ftands at *Gangápur*, formerly *Dehterea*, near *Banáres*, and appears to be very ancient. The image of VA'GI'SWARA, by the name of SIRO'DE'VA, was brought from the weft by a grandfon of CE'TU-MISRA, defcended from GAUTAMA, together with that of the God's confort and fifter, vulgarly named BASSARI; but the *Bráhmens* on the fpot informed me, that her true name was BA'GI'SWARI'. The precife meaning of SIRO'DE'VA is not afcertained: if it be not a corruption of SRI'DE'VA, it means the God of the *Head*: but the generality of *Bráhmens* have a fingular diflike to the defcendants of GAUTAM, and object to their modes of worfhip, which feem, indeed, not purely *Indian*. The priefts of BA'GI'SWARA, for inftance, offer to his confort a lower mantle with a red fringe, and an earthen pot fhaped like a coronet. To the god himfelf they prefent a vafe full of arak: and they even facrifice a hog to him, pouring its blood before the idol, and reftoring the carcafe to its owner; a ceremony which the *Egyptians* performed in honour of BACCHUS OSIRIS, whom I fuppofe to be the fame deity, as I believe the *Baffarides* to have been fo named from *Baffari*. Several demigods (of whom CICERO reckons five) *(a)* had the name of BACCHUS; and it is not improbable that fome confufion has been caufed by the refemblance of names. Thus BA'GI'SWARA was changed by the *Greeks* into BACCUS OSIRIS; and when

(a) De Nat. Deor.

when they introduced a foreign name, with the termination of a case in their own tongue, they formed a nominative from it; hence from BHAGAWA'N also they first made BACCHON, and afterwards BACCHOS; and, partly from that strange carelessness conspicuous in all their inquiries, partly from the reserve of the *Egyptian* priests, they melted the three divinities of *Egypt* and *India* into one, whom they miscalled OSIRIS. We have already observed, that YSIRIS was the truer pronunciation of that name, according to HELLANICUS; though PLUTARCH insists that it should be SIRIS, or SIRIUS: but YSIRIS, or ISWARA, seems in general appropriated to the incarnations of MAHA'DE'VA, while SIRIS, or SIRIUS, was applied to those of VISHNU.

IX. When the *Pándavas*, according to the *Vrïhad-haima*, wandered over the world, they came to the banks of the *Cálì* river, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, where they saw a three-eyed man sitting with kingly state, surrounded by his people, and by animals of all sorts, whom he was instructing in several arts, according to their capacities. To his human subjects he was teaching agriculture, elocution, and writing. The descendants of PANDU, having been kindly received by him, related their adventures at his request; and he told them, in return, that, having quarrelled in the mansion of BRA'HMA, with DACSHA, his father-in-law, he was cursed by MENU, and doomed to take the form of a *Mánava*, or *man*, whence he was named on earth A'MANE'SWARA; that his faithful consort transformed herself into the river *Cáli*, and purified his people; while he guided them with the staff of empire, and gave them instruction, of which he had found them in great need. The place, where he resided, was called *A'manéswara-st'hán*, or the seat of A'MAN, or A'MON, which can be no other than the *Amonno* of Scripture, translated *Diospolis*, by the Seventy Interpreters; but it was *Diospolis* between the canals of the Delta, near the

the ſea and the lake *Manzalè;* for the Prophet NAHUM (a) deſcribes it as a town *ſituated among rivers, with waters round about it, and the ſea for its rampart;* ſo that it could not be either of the towns named alſo *Dioſpolis* in Upper *Egypt;* and the *Hindu* author ſays expreſsly, that it lay to the north of *Himádri.*

Having before declared my opinion, that the *Noph* of the three greater *Prophets* was derived from *Nabhas,* or the *ſky,* and was properly called *Nabha-iſwara ſt'hán,* or *Nabha-ſt'hán,* I have little to add here. HOSEA once calls it *Moph,* (b,) and the *Chaldean* paraphraſt, *Maphes;* while *Rabbi* KIMCHI aſſerts, that *Moph* and *Noph* were one and the ſame town. The Seventy always render it *Memphis,* which *Copts* and *Arabs* pronounce *Menuf,* or *Menf;* and though I am well aware that ſome travellers, and men of learning, deny the modern *Menf* to be on the ſite of *Memphis,* yet in the former Section I have given my reaſons for diſſenting from them, and obſerved, that *Memphis* occupied a vaſt extent of ground along the *Nile,* conſiſting, in fact, of ſeveral towns or diviſions, which had become contiguous by the acceſſion of new buildings. May not the words *Noph* and *Menf* have been taken from *Nabha* and *Mánava,* ſince *Nabhómánava,* as a title of ISWARA, would ſignify the *celeſtial man?* The *Egyptian* prieſts had nearly the ſame ſtory which we find in the *Puráns;* for they related, that the ocean formerly reached to the ſpot where *Memphis* was built by king MINES, MINAS, or MINEVAS, who forced the ſea back, by altering the courſe of the *Nile,* which depoſiting its mud in immenſe quantities, gradually formed the *Delta.*

Dioſpolis, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet *great,* was a name of *Thebes,* which was alſo called the City of the Sun,

(a) Ch. 3. v. 8. (b) Ch. 9. v. 6.

Sun, (a) from a celebrated temple dedicated to that luminary, which I ſuppoſe to be the *Súryéſwara-ſt'hán* of the old *Hindu* writers. The following legend concerning it is extracted from the *Bháſcara-máhátmya.* The ſon of So'MARA'JA, named PUSHPACE'TU, having inherited the dominions of his father, neglected his public duties, contemned the advice of his miniſters, and abandoned himſelf to voluptuouſneſs; till BHI'MA, ſon of PA'MARA, (or of an *outcaſt,)* deſcended from the hills of *Níládri*, and laid ſiege to his metropolis. The prince, unable to defend it, made his eſcape, and retired to a wood on the banks of the *Cálì.* There, having bathed in the ſacred river, he performed penance for his former diſſolute life, ſtanding twelve days on one leg, without even taſting water, and with his eyes fixed on the Sun; the regent of which appeared to him in the character of SU'RYE'SWARA, commanding him to declare what he moſt deſired. "Grant me *móc ſha*, or beautitude," ſaid PUSHPACE'TU, proſtrating himſelf before the deity; who bade him be patient, aſſured him that his offences were expiated, and promiſed to deſtroy his enemies with intenſe heat; but ordered him to raiſe a temple, inſcribed to SU'RYE'SWARA, on the very ſpot where he then ſtood; and declared that he would efface the ſins of all ſuch pilgrims as ſhould viſit it with devotion. He alſo directed his votary, who became, after his reſtoration, a virtuous and fortunate monarch, to celebrate a yearly feſtival in honour of SU'RYA, on the ſeventh lunar day, in the bright half of *Mágha.* We need only add, that *Heliopolis*, in Lower *Egypt*, though a literal tranſlation of *Súrya-ſt'hán*, could not be the ſame place, as it was not on the banks of the *Nile.*

X. One of the wildeſt fictions, ever invented by mythologiſts, is told in the *Pádma* and the *Bhágavat;* yet

(a) Diod. Sic. B. 2, c. 1.

yet we find an *Egyptian* tale very ſimilar to it. The wife of CA'S'YA, who had been the *guru*, or ſpiritual guide, of CRISHNA, complained to the incarnate God, that the ocean had ſwallowed up her children near the plain of *Prabháſa*, or the weſtern coaſt of *Gujara*, now called *Gujarat;* and ſhe ſupplicated him to recover them. CRISHNA haſtened to the ſhore, and being informed by the Sea-god, that SANC'HA'SURA, or PA'NCHAJANYA, had carried away the children of his preceptor, he plunged into the waves, and ſoon arrived at *Cuſha-dwip*, where he inſtructed the *Cutila-céſas* in the whole ſyſtem of religious and civil duties, cooled and embelliſhed the peninſula, which he found ſmoking from the various conflagrations which had happened to it, and placed the government of the country on a ſecure and permanent baſis. He then diſappeared; and, having diſcovered the haunt of SANC'HA'SURA, engaged and ſlew him, after a long conflict, during which the ocean was violently agitated, and the land overflowed; but, not finding the *Bráhmen's* children, he tore the monſter from his ſhell, which he carried with him as a memorial of his victory, and uſed afterwards in battle by way of a trumpet. As he was proceeding to *Varáha-dwíp*, or *Europe*, he was met by VARUNA, the chief God of the Waters, who aſſured him poſitively, that the children of CA'S'YA were not in his domains. The preſerving power then deſcended to *Yamapurì*, the infernal city, and, ſounding the ſhell *Pánchajanya*, ſtruck ſuch terror into YAMA, that he ran forth to make his proſtrations, and reſtored the children, with whom CRISHNA returned to their mother.

Now it is related by PLUTARCH, *(a)* that GARMATHONE, queen of *Egypt*, having loſt her ſon, prayed fervently to ISIS, on whoſe interceſſion OSIRIS deſcended to

(a) On Rivers. *art.* Nile.

to the shades, and restored the prince to life; in which fable OSIRIS appears to be CRISHNA, the *black* divinity. *Garmatho*, or *Garbatho*, was the name of a hilly district, bordering on the land of the *Troglodytes*, or *Sanc'hásuras;* and *Ethiopia* was in former ages called *Egypt*. The flood in that country is mentioned by CEDRENUS, and said to have happened fifty years after CECROPS, the first king of *Athens*, had begun his reign. *Abyssinia* was laid waste by a flood, according to the Chronicle of *Axùm*, about 1600 years before the birth of CHRIST (a;) and CECROPS, we are told, began to reign 1657 years before that epoch; but it must be confessed that the chronology of ancient *Greece* is extremely uncertain.

XI. Having before alluded to the legends of GUPTA and CARDAMA, we shall here set them down more at large, as they are told in the *Purànas*, entitled *Brahmánda* and *Scánda*, the second of which contains very valuable matter concerning *Egypt*, and other countries in the west. SU'RYA having directed both gods and men to perform sacred rites in honour of VISHNU, for the purpose of counteracting the baneful influence of SANI, they all followed his directions, except MAHA'DE'VA, who thought such homage inconsistent with his exalted character; yet he found it necessary to lie for a time *concealed*, and retired to *Barbara*, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, where he remained seven years *hidden* in the *mud* which covered the banks of the *Cálì:* hence he acquired the title of GUPTE'SWARA. The whole world felt the loss of his vivifying power, which would long have been suspended, if MANDAPA, the son of CUSHMANDA, had not fled, to avoid the punishment of his vices and crimes, into *Cusha dwíp;* where he became a sincere penitent, and wholly devoted himself to the worship of MAHA'DE'VA, constantly singing his praise, and dancing in honour

(a) Bruce's Travels, vol. I. 398.

honour of him: the people, ignorant of his former dissolute life, took him for a holy man, and loaded him with gifts till he became a chief among the votaries of the *concealed* God, and at length formed a design of restoring him to light. With this view he passed a whole night in *Cardama-st'hán*, chanting hymns to the mighty power of destruction and renovation, who, pleased with his piety and his musick, started from the *mud*, whence he was named CARDAMÉSWARA, and appeared openly on earth; but, having afterwards met SANAISCHARA, who scornfully exulted on his own power *in compelling the Lord of three Worlds to conceal himself in a fen*, he was abashed by the taunt, and ascended to his palace on the top of *Cailása*.

GUPTÉSWARA-STHAN, abbreviated into *Gupta*, on the banks of the *Nile*, is the famed town *Coptos*, called *Gupt* or *Gypt* to this day; though the *Arabs*, as usual, have substituted their *káf* for the true initial letter of that ancient word. I am even informed, that the land of *Egypt* is distinguished in some of the *Puránas* by the name of *Gupta-st'hán;* and I cannot doubt the information, though the original passages have not yet been produced to me. Near *Gupta* was *Cardamast'hali*, which I suppose to be *Thebes*, or part of it; and CADMUS, whose birth-place it was, I conceive to be ISWARA, with the title CARDAMA, who invented the *system of letters*, or at least arranged them as they appear in the *Sanscrit* grammars. The *Greeks*, indeed, confounded CARDAMÉSWARA with CARDAMA, father of VARUNA, who lived on the western coasts of *Asia;* whence CADMUS is by some called an *Egyptian*, and by others, a *Phenician;* but it must be allowed, that the writers of the *Puránas* also have caused infinite confusion by telling the same story in many different ways; and the two CARDAMAS may, perhaps, be one and the same personage.

"CADMUS was born, ſays DIODORUS, (a) at *Thebes*, "in *Egypt*: he had ſeveral ſons, and a daughter named "SEMELE, who became pregnant, and, in the *ſeventh* "month, brought forth an imperfect male child greatly "reſembling OSIRIS; whence the *Greeks* believed, that "OSIRIS was the ſon of CADMUS and SEMELE." Now I cannot help believing, that OSIRIS of *Thebes* was ISWARA ſpringing, after his concealment for *ſeven* years, from the mud (*Cardama*) of the river *Syámalà*, which is a *Pauranic* name for the *Nile*: whatever might have been the grounds of ſo ſtrange a legend, it probably gave riſe to the popular *Egyptian* belief, that the human race were produced from the mud of that river; ſince the appearance of CARDAME'SWARA revivified nature, and repleniſhed the earth with plants and animals.

XII. The next legend is yet ſtranger, but not more abſurd than a ſtory which we ſhall find among the *Egyptians*, and which in part reſembles it. MAHA'DE'VA and PA'RVATÌ were playing with dice at the ancient game of *Chaturanga*, when they diſputed and parted in wrath; the goddeſs retiring to the foreſt of *Gaurì*, and the god repairing to *Cuſhadwip*: they ſeverally performed rigid acts of devotion to the Supreme Being; but the fires, which they kindled, blazed ſo vehemently as to threaten a general conflagration. The *Dévas* in great alarm haſtened to BRA'HMA, who led them to MAHA'DE'VA, and ſupplicated him to recall his conſort; but the wrathful deity only anſwered, that ſhe muſt come by her own free choice: they accordingly diſpatched GANGA', the river-goddeſs, who prevailed on PA'RVATÌ to return to him on condition that his love for her ſhould be reſtored. The celeſtial mediators then employed CA'MA-DE'VA, who wounded SIVA with one

(a) B. 1. C. 13.

one of his flowery arrows; but the angry divinity reduced him to ashes with a flame from his eye. Pa'rvatì soon after presented herself before him in the form of a *Cirátì*, or daughter of a mountaineer, and, seeing him enamoured of her, resumed her own shape. In the place where they were reconciled, a grove sprang up, which was named *Cámavana*; and the relenting god, in the character of Ca'me'swara, consoled the afflicted Reti, the widow of Ca'ma, by assuring her, that she should rejoin her husband when he should be born again in the form of Pradyumna, son of Crishna, and should put Sambara to death. This favourable prediction was in due time accomplished; and Pradyumna having sprung to life, he was instantly seized by the demon Sambara, who placed him in a chest, which he threw into the ocean; but a large fish, which had swallowed the chest, was caught in a net, and carried to the palace of a tyrant, where the unfortunate Reti had been compelled to do menial service: it was her lot to open the fish, and, seeing an infant in the chest, she nursed him in private, and educated him till he had sufficient strength to destroy the malignant Sambara. He had before considered Reti as his *mother*; but, the minds of them both being irradiated, the prophecy of Maha'de'va was remembered, and the god of Love was again united with the goddess of Pleasure. One of his names was Pushpadhanva, or *with a flowery bow*; and he had a son, Visvadhanva, from whom Vijayadhanva and Cirtidhanva lineally sprang; but the two last, with whom the race ended, were surnamed Cauna'pa, for a reason which shall presently be disclosed.

Visvadhanva, with his youthful companions, was hunting on the skirts of Hima'laya, where he saw a white elephant of an amazing size with four tusks, who was disporting himself with his females: the prince imagined him to be Aira'vata, the great elephant of Indra, and

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ordered a circle to be formed round him; but the noble beaſt broke through the toils, and the hunters purſued him from country to country, till they came to the burning ſands of *Barbara*, where his courſe was ſo much impeded, that he aſſumed his true ſhape of a *Rácſhaſa*, and began to bellow with the ſound of a large drum, called *dundu*, from which he had acquired the name of DUNDUBHI. The ſon of CAMA, inſtead of being diſmayed, attacked the giant, and, after an obſtinate combat, ſlew him; but was aſtoniſhed on ſeeing a beautiful youth riſe from the bleeding body, with the countenance and form of a *Gandharva*, or celeſtial quiriſter; who told him, before he vaniſhed, that "he had been expelled "for a time from the heavenly manſions, and, as a pu-"niſhment for a great offence, had been condemned to "paſs through a mortal ſtate in the ſhape of a giant, "with a power to take other forms; that his crime was "expiated by death, but that the prince deſerved, and "would receive, chaſtiſement, for moleſting an ele-"phant who was enjoying innocent pleaſures." The place, where the white elephant reſumed the ſhape of a *Rácſhaſa*, was called *Rácſhaſa-ſt'hán*; and that where he was killed, *Dandubhi-mára-ſt'hán*, or *Rácſhaſa-mócſhana*, becauſe he there acquired *mócſha*, or a releaſe from his mortal body. It is declared in the *Uttara-charitra*, that a pilgrimage to thoſe places, with the performance of certain holy rites, will ever ſecure the pilgrims from the dread of giants and evil ſpirits.

CANTACA, the younger brother of DUNDUBHI, meditated vengeance, and aſſuming the character of a *Bráhman*, procured an introduction to VISVADHANWA as a perſon eminently ſkilled in the art of cookery: he was accordingly appointed chief cook, and a number of *Bráhmens* having been invited to a ſolemn entertainment, he ſtewed a *cuhapa* or *corpſe*, (ſome ſay *putrid fiſh*,) and gave it in ſoup to the gueſts; who, diſcovering the abominable affront,

affront, were enraged at the king, telling him, that he should live twelve years as a night wanderer, feeding on *cunapas*, and that *Caunapa* should be the surname of his descendants: some add, that, as soon as this curse was pronounced, the body of VISVADHANWA became festering and ulcerous, and that his children inherited the loathsome disease.

We find clear traces of this wild story in *Egypt;* which from CA'MA was formerly named *Chemia*, and it is to this day known by the name of *Chemi* to the few old *Egyptian* families that remain: it has been conjectured, that the more modern *Greeks* formed the word *Chemia* from this name of *Egypt*, whence they derived their first knowledge of *Chemistry*. The god CAIMIS was the same, according to PLUTARCH, with ORUS the Elder, or one of the ancient APOLLOS; but he is described as very young and beautiful; and his consort was named RHYTJA; so that he bears a strong resemblance to CA'MA, the husband of RETI, or the CUPID of the *Hindus*. There were two gods named CUPID, says ÆLIAN (*a*), the elder of whom was the son of LUCINA, and the lover, if not the husband, of VENUS: the younger was her son. Now SMU, or TYPHON, says HERODOTUS, wished to destroy ORUS, whom LATONA concealed in a grove of the island *Chemmis*, in a lake near *Butus;* but SMU, or SAMBAR, found means to kill him, and left him in the waters, where ISIS found him, and restored him to life (*b*). ÆLIAN says, that the Sun, a form of OSIRIS, being displeased with CUPID, threw him into the ocean, and gave him a shell for his abode. SMU, we are told, was at length defeated and killed by ORUS. We have said, that CA'MA was born again in this lower world, or became *Adhóyóni*, not as a punishment for his offence, which that word commonly implies, but as a mitigation of the

(*a*) B. 14. C. 28. (*b*) Diod. Sic. B. 14.

the chastisement which he had received from ISWARA, and as a favour conferred on him in becoming a son of VISHNU: this may, therefore, be the origin both of the name and the story of ADONIS; and the yearly lamentations of the *Syrian* damsels may have taken rise from the ditties chanted by RETI, together with the *Apsarases*, or nymphs, who had attended CA'MA, when he provoked the wrath of MAHA'DE'VA: one of the sweetest measures in *Sanscrit* prosody has the name of *Reti vilápa*, or the *dirge* of RETI.

In the only remaining accounts of *Egyptian* Mythology, we find three kings of that country, named CAMEPHIS, which means in *Coptick*, according to JABLONSKI, the guardian divinity of *Egypt (a)*: the history of those kings is very obscure; and whether they have any relation to the three descendants of CA'MA, I cannot pretend to determine. The *Caunapas* appear to be the Νέκυες ἡμίθεοι supposed to have reigned in *Egypt*; for we learn from SYNCELLUS *(b)*, that the *Egyptians* had a strange tale concerning a dynasty of *dead men*; that is, according to the *Hindus*, of men afflicted with some sphacelous disorder, and, most probably, with *Elephantiasis*. The seat of CUNAPA seems to have been *Canobus*, or *Canopus*, not far from *Alexandria*. That CANOPUS died there of a loathsome disease was asserted by the *Greek* Mythologists, according to the writer of the *Great Etymological Dictionary*, under the word Ἑλένειον; and he is generally represented in a black shroud, with a cap closely fitted to his head, as if his dress was intended to conceal some offensive malady; whence the potters of *Canopus* often made pitchers with covers in the form of a close cap. His tomb was to be seen at *Helenium*, near the town which bore his name; but that of his wife (who, according to EPIPHANIUS, was named EUMENUTHIS) was in a place called

(a) See Alphab. Tibet. p. 145. (b) P. 40, cited by Mr. BRYANT.

called *Menuthis*, at the diſtance of two ſtadia. There were two temples at *Canopus*; the more ancient inſcribed to HERCULES, which ſtood in the ſuburbs *(a)*, and the more modern, but of greater celebrity, raiſed in honour of SERAPIS *(b)*. Now there ſeems to be no ſmall affinity between the characters of DUNDHU and ANTÆUS, or VISVADHANWA and HERCULES. Many heroes of antiquity (CICERO reckons up *ſix*, and others *forty-three*, ſome of whom were peculiar to *Egypt*) had the title of HERCULES; and the *Greeks*, after their faſhion, aſcribed to one the mighty achievements of them all. ANTÆUS was, like DUNDHU, a favourite ſervant of OSIRIS, who intruſted part of *Egypt* to his government; but, having in ſome reſpect miſbehaved, he was depoſed, abſconded, and was hunted by HERCULES through every corner of *Africa*: hence I conclude, that *Dandhu-mára-ſt'hán* was the town called *Anteu* by the *Egyptians*, and *Antæopolis* by the *Greeks*, where a temple was raiſed and ſacrifices made to ANTÆUS, in hopes of obtaining protection againſt other demons and giants. *Rácſhaſa-ſt'hán* ſeems to be the *Rhacotis* of the *Greeks*, which CEDRENUS calls in the oblique caſe *Rhakhaſtèn*: it ſtood on the ſite of the preſent *Alexandria*, and muſt in former ages have been a place of conſiderable note; for PLINY tells us, that an old king of *Egypt*, named MESPHEES, had erected two obeliſks in it, and that ſome older kings of that country had built forts there, with garriſons in them, againſt the pirates who infeſted the coaſt *(c)*. When HERCULES had put on the fatal robe, he was afflicted, like VISVADHANWA, with a loathſome and excruciating diſeaſe, through the vengeance of the dying NESSUS. Others relate (for the ſame fable is often differently told by the *Greeks*) that HERCULES was covered with gangrenous ulcers from the venom of the *Lernean* ſerpent, and was cured in *Phenice* at a place called *Ake* (the *Acco*

(a) Herod. B. 2. *(b)* Strabo, B. 17. *(c)* Lib. 36. Cap. 9.

Acts of ſcripture) by the juice of a plant, which abounds both in that ſpot and on the banks of the *Nile (a)*. The *Greeks*, who certainly migrated from *Egypt*, carried with them the old *Egyptian* and *Indian* legends, and endeavoured (not always with ſucceſs) to appropriate a foreign ſyſtem to their new ſettlements. All their heroes or demi-gods, named HERACLES by them, and HERCULES by the *Latians*, (if not by the *Æolians)*, were ſons of JUPITER, who is repreſented in *India* both by HERA, or SIVA, and by HERI, or VISHNU: nor can I help ſuſpecting, that HERCULES is the ſame with HÉRACULA, commonly pronounced *Hercul*, and ſignifying the *race* of HERA, or HERI. Thoſe heroes are celebrated in the concluding book of the *Mahábhárat*, entitled *Herivanſa;* and ARRIAN ſays, that the *Suraſeni*, or people of *Mat'hurà*, worſhipped HERCULES, by whom he muſt have meant CRISHNA and his deſcendants.

In the *Canopean* temple of SERAPIS, the ſtatue of the god was decorated with a *Cerberus* and a Dragon; whence the learned *Alexandrians* concluded, that he was the ſame with PLUTO: his image had been brought from *Sinope* by the command of one of the *Ptolemies*, before whoſe time he was hardly known in *Egypt*. SERAPIS, I believe, is the ſame with YAMA or PLUTO; and his name ſeems derived from the compound *Aſrapa*, implying *thirſt of blood*. The ſun in *Bhádra* had the title of YAMA, but the *Egyptians* gave that of PLUTO, ſays PORPHYRY, to the great luminary near the winter ſolſtice *(b)*. YAMA, the regent of hell, has two dogs, according to the *Puránas*, one of them, named CERBURA and SABALA, or *varied;* the other, SYA'MA, or *black;* the firſt of whom is alſo called *Triśiras*, or *with three heads*, and has the additional epithets of *Calmáſha*, *Chitra*, and *Cirmíra*, all ſignifying

(a) Steph. Byzant. under *Ake*. *(b)* Cited by Euſeb.

fying *ſtained*, or *ſpotted*. In PLINY, the words *Cimmerium* and *Cerberion* ſeem uſed as ſynonymous (a); but, however that may be, the CERBURA of the *Hindus* is indubitably the CERBERUS of the *Greeks*. The Dragon of SERAPIS I ſuppoſe to be the *Séſhanága*, which is deſcribed as in the infernal regions by the author of the *Bhágavat*.

Having now cloſed my remarks on the parallel divinities of *Egypt* and *India*, with references to the ancient geographers of the countries adjacent to the *Nile*, I cannot end this ſection more properly than with an account of the *Jainas*, and the three principal deities of that ſect; but the ſubject is dark, becauſe the *Bráhmens*, who abhor the followers of JINA, either know little of them, or are unwilling to make them the ſubject of converſation: what they have deigned to communicate, I now offer to the Society.

Toward the middle of the period named *Padmacalpa*, there was ſuch a want of rain for many ſucceſſive years, that the greateſt part of mankind periſhed, and BRA'HMA himſelf was grieved by the diſtreſs which prevailed in the univerſe: RIPUNJAYA then reigned in the weſt of *Cuſha-dwíp*, and, ſeeing his kingdom deſolate, came to end his days at *Cáśi*. Here we may remark, that *Cáśi*, or *the Splendid*, (a name retained by PTOLEMY in the word *Caſidia*,) is called *Banáres* by the *Moguls*, who have tranſpoſed two of the letters in its ancient epithet *Váránesì*; a name in ſome degree preſerved alſo by the *Greeks* in the word *Aornis* on the *Ganges*; for, when old *Cáśi*, or *Caſſidia*, was deſtroyed by BHAGAWAN, according to the *Puránas*, or by BACCHUS, according to DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES, it was rebuilt at ſome diſtance from its former ſite, near a place called *Sivabar*, and had the name of *Váránasì*, or

Aornis,

(a) Lib. 6. C. 6.

Aornis, which we find alſo written *Avernus*. The word *Váránaſì* may be taken, as ſome *Bráhmens* have conjectured, from the names of two rivulets, *Varuna* and *Asi*, between which the town ſtands; but more learned grammarians deduce it from *vara*, or *moſt excellent*, and *anas*, or *water*, whence come *Váránasì*, an epithet of *Gangà*, and *Váránasì* (formed by Pa'nini's rule) of the city raiſed on her bank. To proceed: Bra'hma offered Ripunjayà the dominion of the whole earth, with *Cáſi* for his metropolis, directing him to collect the ſcattered remains of the human race, and to aid them in forming new ſettlements; telling him, that his name ſhould thenceforth be Divo'da'sa, or *Servant of Heaven*. The wiſe prince was unwilling to accept ſo burdenſome an office, and propoſed as the condition of his acceptance, that the glory which he was to acquire, ſhould be excluſively his own, and that no *Dévatà* ſhould remain in his capital: Bra'hma, not without reluctance, aſſented; and even Maha'de'va, with his attendants, left their favourite abode at *Cáſi*, and retired to the *Mandara* hills near the ſource of the *Ganges*. The reign of Divodas began with acts of power, which alarmed the gods; he depoſed the Sun and Moon from their ſeats, and appointed other regents of them, making alſo a new ſort of fire: but the inhabitants of *Cáſi* were happy under his virtuous government. The deities, however, were jealous, and Maha'de'va, impatient to reviſit his beloved city, prevailed on them to aſſume different ſhapes, in order to ſeduce the king and his people. De'vì tempted them, without ſucceſs, in the forms of ſixty-four *Yóginis*, or female anachorets: the twelve *A'dityas*, or Suns, undertook to corrupt them; but, aſhamed of their failure, remained in the holy town: next appeared Gane'sa, commiſſioned by his father Maha'de'va, in the garb of an aſtronomer, attended by others of his profeſſion, and aſſiſted by thirty-ſix *Vainâyacis*, or *Gánéſis*, who were his female deſcendants; and by their help he began to change the

diſpoſition

disposition of the people, and to prepare them for the coming of the three principal deities.

Vishnu came in the character of Jina, inveighing against sacrifices, prayers, pilgrimage, and the ceremonies prescribed by the *Véda*, and asserting, that all true religion consisted *in killing no creature that had life*: his consort Jaya'de'vì preached this new doctrine to her own sex; and the inhabitants of *Cási* were perplexed with doubts. He was followed by Maha'de'va, in the form of Arhan or Mahiman, accompanied by his wife Maha'ma'nya', with a multitude of male and female attendants: he supported the tenets of Jina, alledging his own superiority over Bra'hma and Vishnu, and referring, for the truth of his allegation, to Jina himself, who fell prostrate before him; and they travelled together over the world, endeavouring to spread their heresies. At length appeared Bra'hma in the figure of Buddha, whose consort was named Vijny'a: he confirmed the principles inculcated by his predecessors, and, finding the people seduced, he began, in the capacity of a *Brahmen*, to corrupt the mind of the king. Divo'da'sa listened to him with complacency, lost his dominion, and gave way to Maha'de'va, who returned to his former place of residence; but the deposed king, reflecting too late on his weakness, retired to the banks of the *Gómati*, where he built a fortress, and began to build a city on the same plan with *Cáśì*: the ruins of both are still to be seen near *Chanwoc*, about *fourteen* miles above the confluence of the *Gumti* with the *Ganges*, and about twenty to the north of *Benáres*. It is added, that Maha'de'va having vainly contended with the numerous and obstinate followers of the new doctrine, resolved to exterminate them; and, for that purpose, took the shape of Sancara, surnamed *A'chárya*, who explained the *Védas* to the people, destroyed the temples of the *Jainas*, caused their books to be burned, and massacred all who opposed them. This tale, which has been

been extracted from a book, entitled *Sancara-prádurbháva*, was manifestly invented for the purpose of aggrandizing SANCARA'CHA'RYA, whose exposition of the *Upanishads*, and comment on the *Védánta*, with other excellent works, in prose and verse, on the being and attributes of GOD, are still extant, and sedulously studied by the *Védanti* school: his disciples considered him as an incarnation of MAHA'DE'VA; but he tarnished his brilliant character by fomenting the religious war, in which most of the persecuted *Jainas* were slain or expelled from these parts of *India*; very few of them now remaining in the *Gangetick* provinces, or in the western peninsula, and those few living in penury and ignorance, apparently very wretched, and extremely reserved on all subjects of religion. These heterodox *Indians* are divided into three sects: the followers of JINA we find chiefly dispersed on the borders of *India*; those of BUDDHA, in *Tibet*, and other vast regions to the north and east of it; while those of ARHAN (who are said to have been anciently the most powerful of the three) now reside principally in *Siam*, and in other kingdoms of the eastern peninsula. ARHAN is reported to have left impressions of his feet on rocks in very remote countries, as monuments of his very extensive travels: the most remarkable of them is in the island of *Sinhal*, or *Silan*, and the *Siamese* revere it under the name of *Praput*, from the *Sanscrit* word *Prapáda*; but the *Bráhmens* insist, that it was made by the foot of RA'VANA. Another impression of a foot, about two cubits long, was to be seen, in the time of HERODOTUS, on the banks of the river *Tyras*, now called the *Dniester*: the people of that country were certainly *Bauddhas*, and their high-priest, who resided on mount *Cocajon*, at present named *Casjon*, was believed to be regenerate, exactly like the *Lama* of *Tibet*.

As to JINA, he is said by his followers to have assumed twenty-four *rúpas*, or *forms*, at the same time, for the purpose

purpose of disseminating his doctrine, but to have existed really and wholly in all and each of those forms at once, though in places very remote; but those *rúpas* were of different orders, according to certain mysterious divisions of twenty-four, and the *forms* are considered as more or less perfect, according to the greater or less perfection of the component numbers and the several compounds; the leading number being *three*, as an emblem of the *Trimúrti*: again, the twenty-four *rúpas*, multiplied by those numbers, which before were used as divisors, produce other *forms*; and thus they exhibit the appearances of JINA in all possible varieties and permutations, comprising in them the different productions of nature.

Most of the *Bráhmens* insist, that the BUDDHA, who perverted DIVO'DA'SA, was not the *ninth* incarnation of VISHNU, whose name, some say, should be written BAUDDHA, or BO'DDHA; but, not to mention the *Armacósh*, the *Mugdhabódh*, and the *Gitagóvinda*, in all of which the ninth *avatár* is called BUD'DHA, it is expressly declared in the *Bhágavat*, that VISHNU should appear *ninthly* in the form of "BUDDHA, son of JINA, for the "purpose of confounding the *Daityas* at a place named "*Cícata*, when the *Cali age* should be completely be-"gun." On this passage it is only remarked by SRÍDHARA *Swámi*, the celebrated commentator, that JINA and AJINA were two names of the same person, and that *Cícata* was in the district of *Gayà*; but the *Pandits*, who assisted in the *Persian* translation of the *Bhágavat*, gave the following account of the ninth *avatára*. The *Daityas* had asked INDRA, by what means they could attain the dominion of the world; and he had answered, that they could only attain it by sacrifice, purification, and piety: they made preparations accordingly for a solemn sacrifice, and a general ablution: but VISHNU, on the intercession of the *Dévas*, descend-

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ed in the ſhape of *Sannyasì*, named BUDDHA, with his hair braided in a knot on the crown of his head; wrapt a in ſqualid mantle, and with a broom in his hand. BUDDHA preſented himſelf to the *Daityas*, and was kindly received by them; but, when they expreſſed their ſurpriſe at his foul veſture, and the ſingular implement which he carried, he told them, that *it was cruel, and conſequently impious, to deprive any creature of life*; that, whatever might be ſaid in the *Védas*, every *ſacrifice* of an *animal* was an abomination, and that *purification* itſelf was wicked, becauſe ſome ſmall inſect might be killed in bathing or waſhing cloth; that he never bathed, and conſtantly ſwept the ground before him, leſt he ſhould tread on ſome innocent reptile: he then expatiated on the inhumanity of giving pain to the playful and harmleſs kid, and reaſoned with ſuch eloquence, that the *Daityas* wept, and abandoned all thought of ablution and ſacrifice. As this *Máyà*, or *illuſive appearance*, of VISHNU, fruſtrated the ambitious project of the *Daityas*, one of BUDDHA's titles is the ſon of MA'YA': he is alſo named SA'CYASINHA, or the *Lion* of the race of *Sácya*, from whom he deſcended; an appellation which ſeems to intimate, that he was a conqueror or a warrior, as well as a philoſopher. Whether BUDDHA was a ſage or a hero, the leader of a colony, or a whole colony perſonified, whether he was black or fair, whether his hair was curled or ſtraight, if indeed he had any hair, (which a commentator on the *Bhágavat* denies), whether he appeared ten, or two hundred, or a thouſand, years after CRISHNA, it is very certain, that he was not of the true *Indian* race; in all his images, and in the ſtatues of *Bauddhas*, male and female, which are to be ſeen in many parts of theſe provinces, and in both peninſulas, there is an appearance of ſomething *Egyptian* or *Ethiopian*; and both in features and dreſs, they differ widely from the ancient *Hindu* figures of heroes and demigods. SA'CYA has a reſemblance in ſound to SISAC, and we

3 find

find CHA'NAC abbreviated from CHA'NACYA; so that SISAC and SESONCHOSIS may be corrupted from SA'CYASINHA, with a transposition of some letters, which we know to be frequent in proper names, as in the word *Benáres*. Many of his statues in *India* are colossal, nearly naked, and usually represented sitting in a contemplative attitude: nor am I disinclined to belive, that the famed statue of MEMNON in *Egypt*, was erected in honour of MAHIMAN, which has MAHIMNA' in one of its oblique cases, and the *Greeks* could hardly have pronounced that word otherwise than MAIMNA or MEMNA. They certainly used *Mai* instead of *Mahà*; for HESYCHIUS expressly says, Μαὶ, μεγά. Ἰνδοί; and *Mai* signifies *great* even in modern *Coptick*. We are told, that MAHIMAN, by his wife MAHA'MA'NYA', had a son named SARMANA CARDAMA, who seems to be the SAMMANO CODOM of the *Bauddhas*, unless those last words be corrupted from SAMANEA GO'TAM, which are found in the *Amarcósh* among BUDDHA's names. CARDAM, which properly means *clay* or *mud*, was the first created man according to some *Indian* legends; but the *Puránas* mention about seven or eight, who claimed the priority of creation; and some *Hindus*, desirous of reconciling the contradiction, but unwilling to admit that the same fact is differently related, and the same person differently named, insist that each was the first man in his respective country. Be this as it may, CARDAMA lived in *Varunac'handa*, so called from his son VARUNA, the god of ocean, where we see the ground-work of the fable concerning PALÆMON, or MELICERTUS, grandson of CADMUS: now that *c'handa*, or division of *Jambu-dwip*, comprised the modern *Persia*, *Syria*, and *Asia* the Less; in which countries we find many traces of MAHIMAN and his followers, in the stupendous edifices remarkable for their magnificence and solidity, which the *Greeks* ascribed to the *Cyclopes*. The walls of *Susa*, about sixteen miles in circumference, were built by the father of MEMNON;

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the citadel was called *Memnonium*, and the town, *Memnonia*: the palace is represented by ÆLIAN as amazingly sumptuous; and STRABO compares its ancient walls, citadel, temples, and palace, to those of *Babylon*; a noble high road through the country was attributed to MEMNON; one tomb near *Troy* was supposed to be his, and another in *Syria*; the *Ethiopians*, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, claimed MEMNON as their countryman, and a nation in *Ethiopia* were styled *Memnones*; on the borders of that country and of *Egypt*, stood many old palaces, called *Memnonian*; part of *Thebes* had the name of *Memnonium*; and an astonishing building at *Abydus* was denominated MEMNON'S palace. STRABO says, that many supposed ISMANDES to have been the same with MEMNON, and consequently they must have thought the Labyrinth a *Memnonium* structure (a).

DIVODA'SA, pronounced in the popular dialects DIODA'S, reigned over some western districts of *Cusha*-dwíp *within*, which extended from the shores of the *Mediterranean* to the banks of the *Indus*; and he became, we find, the first mortal king of *Varánes*: he seems to have been the HERCULES DIODAS mentioned by EUSEBIUS, who flourished in *Phenice*, and, it is supposed, about 1524 years before our era; but, in my humble opinion, we cannot place any reliance on such chronological calculations; which always err on the side of antiquity. The three sects of JINA, MAHIMAN, and BUDDHA, whatever may be the difference between them, are all named BAUDDHAS; and as the chief law, in which, as the *Bráhmens* assert, they make virtue and religion consist, is *to preserve the lives of all animated beings*, we cannot but suppose, that the founder of their sect was BUDDHA, the ninth *avatár*, who, in the *Agnipurán*, has the

(a) Herod. V. 54. Æl. XIII. 18. Diod. III. 69. Strab. XV. p. 728. XVII. p. 813.

the epithet of *Sacripa*, or Benevolent, and, in the *Gítá-góvinda*, that of *Sadaya-hridaya*, or Tender-hearted: it is added by JAYADE'VA, that "he censured the whole "*Véda*, because it prescribed the immolation of cattle." This alone, we see, has not destroyed their veneration for him; but they contend that atheistical dogmas have been propagated by modern *Bauddhas*, who were either his disciples, or those of a younger BUDDHA, or so named from *buddhi*, because they admit no supreme divinity, but *intellect*; they add, that even the old *Jainas*, or *Jayanas*, acknowledged no gods but JYA', or Earth, and VISHNU, or Water; as DERIADES (perhaps DURYO'DHAN) is introduced by NONNUS, boasting that Water and Earth were his only deities, and reviling his adversaries, for entertaining a different opinion (a); so that the *Indian* war, described in the *Dionysiacks*, arose probably from a religious quarrel. Either the old *Bauddhas* were the same with the *Cutila-césas*, or nearly allied to them; and we may suspect some affinity between them and the *Pális*, because the sacred language of *Siam*, in which the laws of the *Bauddhas* are composed, is properly named *Páli*: but a complete account of BUDDHA will then only be given, when some studious man shall collect all that relates to him in the *Sanscrit* books, particularly in the *Váyu-purán*, and shall compare his authorities with the testimonies drawn from other sources by KÆMPFER, GIORGI, TACHARD, DE LA LOUBERE, and by such as have access to the literature of *China*, *Siam*, and *Japan*.

(a) Dionysiac. B. 21. v. 247, &c. 259, &c.

SECTION THE THIRD.

We come now to the demigods, heroes, and ſages, who at different times viſited *Egypt* and *Ethiopia;* ſome as vindictive conquerors, and ſome as inſtructors in religion and morality.

I. Pe′t′hína′s, or Pít′he′na′s, was a *Rĭſhi*, or holy man, who had long reſided near Mount *Himálaya*, but at length retired to the places of pilgrimage on the banks of the *Cáli*, deſigning to end his days there in the diſcharge of his religious duties: his virtues were ſo tranſcendent, that the inhabitants of the countries bordering on that river, inſiſted on his becoming their ſovereign, and his deſcendants reigned over them to the *thirteenth* generation; but his immediate ſucceſſor was only his adopted ſon. The following ſeries of *fifteen* kings may conſtitute, perhaps, the dynaſty; which, in the hiſtory of *Egypt*, is called the *Cynick Circle*:

Pe′t′hína′s.

Paít′hínaſi,	*Crĭtriménás*,
Iſhténás,	10 *Carmanyénás*,
Yaſhténás,	*Pít′híni*,
5 *Caſhténás*,	*Pát′híni*,
Juſhténás,	*Páttyamśuca*,
Puſhténás,	Pé′t′hí-s′uca,
Suſhténás,	15 Mé′d′hí-s′uca.

Each of thoſe princes is believed to have built a place of worſhip, near which he uſually reſided; but of the fifteen temples, or conſecrated edifices, we can only aſcertain the ſituation of *ſeven* with any degree of accuracy.

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The founder of the family was a pious and excellent prince, obferving in all refpects the ordinances of the *Véda*: his name is to this day highly venerated by the *Bráhmens*; many facerdotal families in *India* boaft of their defcent from him; and the laws of PAIT'HÍNASI are ftill extant, in an ancient ftyle, and in modulated profe, among the many tracts which collectively form the *Dherma-Sáftra*. It muft be obferved, that he was often called PÍT'HE'RĬSHI, or PÍT'HERSHI; and his place of refidence, *Pít'hê-rĭfhi-ft'hán*; but the fhort vowel *rĭ* has the found of *rŭ* in the weftern pronunciation, like the firft fyllable of *Richard* in fome *Englifh* counties: thus, in parts of *India*, *amrĭta*, or *ambrofia*, is pronounced *amrŭt*, whence I conjecture, that the feat of *Pit'hê-rufhi* was the *Pathros* of Scripture, called *Phatures* by the Seventy, and *Phatori* by EUSEBIUS, which gave its appellation to the *Phaturitic* nome of PLINY. Some imagine *Phaturis* to have been *Thebes*, or *Diofpolis*; but PLINY mentions them both as diftinct places, though, from his context, it appears that they could not be far afunder; and I fuppofe *Phaturis* to be no other than the *Tathyris* of PTOLEMY, which he places at no great diftance from the *Memnonium*, or weftern fuburb of *Thebes*; and in the time of PTOLEMY, the nome of *Phaturis* had been annexed to that of *Diofpolis*, fo that its capital city became of little importance: we took notice, in the firft Section, that the *Ethiopians*, who, from a defect in their articulation, fay TAULOS inftead of PAULOS, would have pronounced *Tithoes* for *Pithoes*, and *Tathuris* for *Pathuris*.

Though we before gave fome account of the fabulous RA'HU and the *Grahas*, yet it may not be fuperfluous to relate their ftory in this place at greater length. RA'HU was the fon of CAS'YAPA and DITI, according to fome authorities: but others reprefent SINHICA' (perhaps, the *Sphinx*) as his natural mother: he had four arms; his

lower parts ended in a tail like that of a dragon; and his aſpect was grim and gloomy, like the *darkneſs* of the chaos, whence he had alſo the name of TAMAS. He was the adviſer of all miſchief among the *Daityas*, who had a regard for him; but among the *Dêvatâs* it was his chief delight to ſow diſſention; and, when the gods had produced the *amrit* by churning the ocean, he diſguiſed himſelf like one of them, and received a portion of it; but, the Sun and Moon having diſcovered his fraud, VISHNU ſevered his head and two of his arms from the reſt of his monſtrous body. That part of the nectarious fluid which he had time to ſwallow, ſecured his immortality: his trunk and dragon-like tail fell on the mountain of *Malaya*, where MINI, a *Brâhmen*, carefully preſerved them by the name of CE'TU; and, as if a complete body had been formed from them, like a diſmembered polype, he is even ſaid to have adopted CE'TU as his own child. The head with two arms fell on the ſands of BARBARA, where PÍT'HE'NA's was then walking with SINHICA', by ſome called his wife: they carried the *Daitya* to their palace, and adopted him as their ſon; whence he acquired the name of PAIT'HE'NASI. This extravagant fable is, no doubt, aſtronomical; RA'HU and CE'TU being clearly the *nodes*, or what aſtrologers call the *head* and *tail* of the dragon: it is added, that they appeaſed VISHNU, and obtained re-admiſſion to the firmament, but were no longer viſible from the earth, their enlightened ſides being turned from it; that RA'HU ſtrives, during eclipſes, to wreak vengeance on the Sun and Moon, who detected him; and that CE'TU often appears as a comet, a whirlwind, a fiery meteor, a water-ſpout, or a column of ſand. From PAITHI'NA's the *Greeks* appear to have made *Pythonos* in their oblique caſe; but they ſeem to have confounded the ſtories of PYTHON and TYPHON, uniting two diſtinct perſons in one *(a)*. PAIT'HE'NASI, who reigned

(a) Plut. Iſis and Oſiris.

reigned on the banks of the *Cálì* after PIT'HE'NAS, his protector, I suppose to be TYPHON, TYPHAON, or TYPHŒUS: he was an usurper and a tyrant, oppressing the *Dévatás*, encouraging the *Daityas*, and suffering the *Védas* to be neglected. HERODOTUS represents him, like RA'HU, as constantly endeavouring to destroy APOLLO and DIANA, (a); and the Mythologists add, that he was thunderstruck by JUPITER, and fell into the quicksands of the lake *Sirbonis*, called also *Sirbon* and *Sarbonis*: now *Swarbhánu*, one of his names, signifies *Light of Heaven*, and, in that character, he answers to LUCIFER. The fall of that rebellious angel is described by ISAIAH, who introduces him saying, that "he would exalt his throne above the "stars of GOD, and would sit on the mount of the "congregation in the sides of the North." The heavenly *Méru* of the *Puránas*, where the principal *Dévas* are supposed to be seated, is not only in the North, but has also the name of *Sabhá*, or the *congregation*. Fifty-six comets are said, in the *Chintámani*, to have sprung from CE'TU; and RA'HU had a numerous progeny of *Gráhas*, or crocodiles. We are told by ÆLIAN, that TYPHON assumed the form of a crocodile, (b,) and RA'HU was often represented in the shape of that animal, though he is generally described as a dragon. The constellation of the dragon is by the *Japanese* called the *Crocodile*; and the sixth year of the *Tartarian* cycle has the same appellation: it is the very year which the *Tibetians* name the year of Lightning, alluding to the dragon, who was stricken by it (c). A real tyrant of *Egypt* was, probably, supposed to be RA'HU, or TYPHON, in a human shape; for we find, that he was actually expelled from that country together with his *Gráhas*: I have not yet been able to procure a particular account of their expulsion. The *st'hán* of RA'HU,

(a) B. 2. C. 156. (b) On Animals, B. 10. C. 21.
(c) Alphab. Tibet. p. 463.

RA'HU, or PAITHI'NASI, named alſo PAIT'HI, ſeems to have been the town of *Pithom* on the borders of *Egypt*; the Seventy wrote it *Peitho*, and HERODOTUS calls it *Patumos*; but, the *ſecond* caſe in *Sanſcrit* being generally affected in the weſtern dialects, we find it written *Phithom* by the old *Latin* interpreter, *Fithom* by HIERONYMUS, and *Pethom* in the *Coptick* tranſlation. The *Greek* name of that city was *Heroöpolis*, or according to STRABO, *Heroön*; but we are informed by STEPHANUS of *Byzantium*, *(a,)* that, "when TYPHON was "ſmitten by lightning, and blood (αἷμα) flowed from "his wounds, the place where he fell was thence "called *Hæmus*, though it had likewiſe the name of "*Hero*:" ſo the ſtation of RA'HU was on the ſpot where PI'T'HE'NA'S and SINGHICA' found his bloody head rolling on the ſands; and, if *Singhicá*, or the *Woman like a Lioneſs*, be the *Sphinx*, the monſtrous *head*, which the *Arabs* call *Abu'lhaul*, or *Father of Terror*, may have been intended for that of RA'HU, and not, as it is commonly believed, for his mother. Though the people of *Egypt* abhorred TYPHON, yet fear made them worſhip him; and in early times they offered him human victims: the *Greeks* ſay, that he had a *red* complexion, and mention his expulſion from *Egypt*, but add a ſtrange ſtory of his arrival in *Paleſtine*, and of his three ſons. We muſt not, however, confound RA'HU with MAHA'DE'VA, who, in his deſtructive character, was called alſo TYPHON; though it be difficult ſometimes to diſtinguiſh them: ſeveral places in *Egypt* were dedicated to a divinity named TYPHON; as the *Tyaphonian* places between *Tentyra* and *Coptos*; and the tower of *Melite*, where daily ſacrifices were made to a *dragon* ſo terrible, that no mortal durſt look on him; the legends of the temple relating, that a man, who had once the temerity to enter the receſſes of it, was ſo terrified by the ſight of the monſter, that he ſoon expired *(b)*. *Melite*,

(a) Under the word Ἡρῶ. *(b)* *Ælian* on Animals, B. 11. C. 17.

Melite, I presume, was in that part of the *Delta* which had been peopled by a colony from *Miletus*; and was, probably, the *Milesian* wall or fort near the sea-shore, mentioned by STRABO.

The usurper was succeeded by ISHTE'NA's, the real son of PI'T'HE'NA's, who had also a daughter named PAIT'HE'NI; and her story is related thus in the *Brahmánda purán*. From her earliest youth she was distinguished for piety, especially towards MAHA'DE'VA, on whom her heart was ever intent; and, at the great festival, when all the nation resorted to *Cardamast'hali*, or *Thebes*, the princess never failed to sing and dance before the image of CARDAME'SWARA: the goddess ISWARÌ was so pleased with her behaviour, that she made PAIT'HE'NÌ her *Sac'hì*, or female companion; and the damsel used to dance thrice a day in the *mud* before the gate of the temple, but with such lightness and address as never to soil her mantle. She died a virgin, having devoted her life to the service of the god and his consort. The female patronymick PAIT'HE'NI comes from PIT'H, or PIT'HE'NA, but from PIT'HE'NA's the derivative form would be PAITHE'NASÌ; and thence NONNUS calls her PEITHIANASSA, and describes her as a handmaid of SEMELE, the daughter of CADMUS, in which character she received JUNO, *(a,)* who was devising the ruin of SEMELE, and with that intent had assumed the form of a loquacious nurse: this passage in the *Dionysiacks* is very interesting, as it proves, in my opinion, that the SEMELE and CADMUS of the *Greeks*, were the same with the SYA'MALA and CARDAMA of the *Hindus*.

The *fourteenth* prince of this dynasty was devoted from his infancy to the worship of I'SWARA, on whom his mind was perpetually fixed, so that he became insensible

(a) Dionysiac. B. 8. v. 193.

ſenſible of all worldly affections, and indifferent both to the praiſe and cenſure of men: he uſed, therefore, to wander over the country, ſometimes dwelling on hills and in woods, ſometimes in a bower, rarely in a houſe, and appearing like an idiot in the eyes of the vulgar, who, in ridicule of his idle talk and behaviour, called him *Pét'hiśuca*, *Panjara-ſuca*, or *Sálá-śuca*, meaning the *parrot* in a *cheſt*, a *cage*, or a *houſe*, which names he always retained. When he grew up, and ſat on the throne, he governed his people equitably and wiſely, reſtraining the vicious by his juſt ſeverity, and inſtructing the ignorant in morals and religion: by his wiſe MA'RISHA' he had a ſon called ME'D'HI-SUCA, to whom at length he reſigned his kingdom, and, by the favour of I'SWARA, became *jívanmucta*, or *releaſed*, even *during life*, from all encumbrances of matter; but the ſtory of MA'RISHA' and his ſon has been related in a preceding ſection. *Méd'hi*, or *Mér'hi*, means a pillar, or *a poſt to which victims are tied*, or any ſtraight pole perpendicularly fixed in the ground; and *Pattyam*, I believe, ſignifies a croſs ſtick, or a wooden bar placed horizontally; ſo that *Pattyam-śuca* might have meant the *parrot on a perch*; but why the *thirteenth* prince had that appellation, I am not yet informed. SUCA is alſo a proper name; the ſon of VYA'SA, and principal ſpeaker in the *Bhágavat*, being called SUCA-DE'VA. Now many *obeliſks* in *Egypt* were ſaid to have been raiſed by a king named SUCHIS, (a); and the famous labyrinth to have been conſtructed by King PETESUCCUS (b). By *Mérhi* we may certainly underſtand either a pillar or an obeliſk, or a ſlender and lofty tower like the *Menárahs* of the *Muſelmans*, or even a high building in a pyramidal form. The *Hindus* aſſert, that each of the three SUCAS had a particular edifice aſcribed to him; and we can hardly doubt, that the *ſt'hán*

(a) Plin. L. 36. C. 8. (b) Plin. L. 36. C. 13.

st'hán of PE'THI-SUCA was the Labyrinth: if the three names of that prince have any allusion to the building, we may apply *Sálá*, or manſion, to the whole of it; *Panjara*, or cage, to the lower ſtory; and *Pét'hi*, or cheſt, to the various apartments under ground, called the cheſts, or *coffins*, of the ſacred crocodiles, called *Suchus*, or *Sukhis*, in old *Egyptian (a,)* and *Soukh* to this day in *Coptick*, were carefully depoſited. HESYCHIUS, indeed, ſays, that *Buti* ſignified a cheſt, or coffin, in *Egyptian;* but that, perhaps, muſt be underſtood of the vulgar dialect: the modern *Copts* call a cheſt *be-ut*, or, with their article, *tabút;* a word which the *Arabs* have borrowed. When PLINY informs us, that PETESUCCUS was named alſo TITHOËS, we muſt either read PITHOES, from PE'T'HI, or impute the change of the initial letter to the defective articulation of the *Ethiopians*, who frequently invaded *Egypt*. From the account given by HERODOTUS, we may conjecture, that the coffins of the *ſacred crocodiles*, as they were called, contained, in fact, the bodies of thoſe princes, whom both *Egyptians* and *Hindus* named *Sucas*, though *ſuc* means a parrot in *Sanſcrit*, and a crocodile in the *Coptick* dialect: the *Sanſcrit* words for a crocodile are *Cumbhíra* and *Nacra*, to which ſome expoſitors of the *Amarcóſh* add *Avagraha* and *Gráha;* but, if the royal name was ſymbolical, and implied a peculiar ability to *ſeize* and *hold*, the ſymbol might be taken from a bird of prey, as well as from the lizard-kind; eſpecially as a ſect of *Egyptians* abhorred the crocodile, and would not have applied it as an emblem of any legal and reſpectable power, which they would rather have expreſſed by a hawk, or ſome diſtinguiſhed bird of that order: others, indeed, worſhipped crocodiles, and I am told, that the very legend before us, framed according to their notions, may be found in ſome of the *Puránas*.

We

(a) STRABO, B. 17. p. 811. DAMASCIUS, Life of ISIDORUS.

We find then three kings, named SUCAS, or *parrots*, living in a *houſe* or a *cage*, or reſting either on an *upright pole*, or on one with a *croſs-bar*: but who they were, it is not my preſent object, nor am I now able, to inveſtigate: I will only obſerve, that beſides the king of *Egypt*, whom PLINY calls SUCHIS, or SOCHIS, the father of the *Curetes*, is named SOCHUS by a *Greek* lexicographer, and SOCUS by the author of the *Dionyſiacks*; and that he was one of the *Cabires* or *Cuvéras*, who (or at leaſt ſome of whom) inhabited in former ages the countries adjacent to the *Nile*.

The ruins of that wonderful building, called the Labyrinth, are ſtill to be ſeen, near the lake *Mœris*, at a place which the *Arabs* have named the *Kaſr*, or palace, of KA'RU'N, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the richeſt of mortals; as the ruins of ME'DHI-SU'CA-*ſt'hán* are in a diſtrict named the *Belád*, or country, of the ſame perſonage: the place laſt mentioned is, moſt probably, the labyrinth built, according to DAMOTELES in PLINY, by MOTHERUDES, a name derived, I imagine, from MEDHI-RUSHI. The town of *Metacamſo*, mentioned by PTOLEMY as oppoſite to *Pſelchis*, above *Syene*, ſeems to have had ſome connection with *Medhi-ſuca*; for *camſa* and *ſuca* were ſynonymous in the old *Egyptian*: HERODOTUS at leaſt informs us, that *camſa* meant a crocodile in that language; and it appears related to *timſáh* in *Arabick*. *Patyam* (for ſo the long compound is often abbreviated) ſeems to have been the labyrinth near *Arſinoe*, or *Crocodilopis*, now *Fayum*, which word I ſuppoſe corrupted from *Patyam*, or *Phatyam*, as the *Copts* would have pronounced it; and my *Pandit* inclines alſo to think, that the building might have been thus denominated from large pieces of ſtone or timber projecting, like *patyas*, before the windows, in order to ſupport the frames of a balcony, which, as a new invention, muſt have attracted the notice

notice of beholders. As to the lake of MŒRIS, I have already exhibited all that I have yet found concerning it. The stupendous pyramid, said to have been six hundred feet high, in the midst of that lake, was raised, we are told, by a king named MŒRIS, MYRIS, MARROS, MAINDES, MENDES, and IMANDES (a;) a strong instance of one name variously corrupted; and I have no doubt, that the original of all those variations was MERHI, or MEDHI. Even to this day in *India*, the pillars, or obelisks, often raised in the middle of tanks, or pools, are called *Mérhis;* but let us proceed to another legend faithfully extracted from the *Mahá calpa*, in which we see, beyond a doubt, the affinity of *Indian*, *Egyptian* and *Grecian* Mythology.

II. On the mountains of *Jwálámuc'ha*, in the interior *Cusha dwíp*, reigned a virtuous and religious prince, named C'HARVANA'YANA'S, whose son, CAPE'YANA'S, preferred arms and hunting, in which he was continually engaged, to the study of the *Véda*, and was so frequently concerned in contests and affrays with his neighbours, that his father, after many vain admonitions, banished him from his palace and his kingdom: the dauntless young exile retired to the deserts, and at length reached *Mócshésa*, believed to be *Mecca*, where, hungry and fatigued, he bathed in the *Mócsha-tírt'ha*, or consecrated well, and passed the night without sleep. VISVACSE'NA, then sovereign of that country, had an only daughter, PADMAMUC'HÍ, or with *a face like a lotos*, who went to perform religious rites to MAHA'DE'VA, god of the temple and the well; and there seeing the prince, she brought him refreshment, and heard his adventures: their interview ended in mutual love, and the old king, who denied her nothing, consented to their marriage, which was solemnized with the ceremony of *Pánigraha*, or *taking hands;* and the young pair lived many years happily

(a) STRABO, B. 17. p. 811. Diod. Sic. B. 1. p. 55.

pily in the palace of their father. It happened ſome time after, that the city was beſieged by two kings of the *Dánavas* with a numerous army: but CAPE'YANA's entirely defeated them: the venerable monarch met his brave ſon-in-law returning with conqueſt, and, having reſigned the throne to him, went to the banks of the *Cálí*, accompanied by his wife, and entered with her into the *third* order, called *Vánapreſt'ha*, or that of *hermits*, in which they paſſed the remainder of their lives, and, after death, obtained *laya*, or *union with the ſupreme ſpirit;* whence their ſtation was named *Layaſt'hán*, or *Layavatì*, and was viſited, for ages after, by ſuch as hoped for beatitude. CAPE'YANA, or CAPE'NAS, (for he is differently named in the ſame book,) adhered ſo ſtrictly to juſtice, and governed ſo mildly, that he was reſpected by his neighbours, and beloved by his ſubjects; yet he became a great conqueror, always protecting the weak, and puniſhing their oppreſſors. All the princes to the eaſt of *Mócſhéſa* paid him tribute; but CA'LASE'NA, king of the exterior *Cuſha-dwíp*, having inſolently refuſed to become his tributary, he invaded *Abyſſinia*, and, after a very long battle, at a place named *Ranótſava*, or the *feſtival of combat*, wholly defeated CA'LASE'NA, whom he replaced on his throne, exacting only a regular acknowledgment of his dominion paramount: then, following the courſe of the *Cáli* river, he came to *Barbara*, or the burning ſands of *Nubia*, the king of which country was GULMA, one of the *Tamóvanſas*, or the ſon of MA'NDYA, who was the ſon of TAMAS, or SANI, by his wife JARAT'HA'; but from GULMA he met with no reſiſtance, for the wiſe king laid his diadem at the feet of CAPE'NAS, who reſtored it, and deſired his company, as a friend, in his expedition to *Miſra-ſt'hán*. The ſovereign of *Miſra* was at that time RANASU'RA, who, diſdaining ſubmiſſion, ſent his ſon RANADURMADA with a great force againſt CAPE'NAS, and ſoon followed him at the head of a more powerful army: an obſtinate battle was fought, at a place called afterwards *Ghóra-ſt'hán*,

ſt'hán, from the *horror* of the carnage; but RANASU'RA was killed, and his troops entirely routed. The conqueror placed the prince on the throne of *Miſra*, the capital of which was then called *Viſva-cirti-pura*, or the city of *Univerſal Fame;* and, having carried immenſe treaſures to *Mócſhéſa*, he dedicated them to the God of the temple, reſolving to end his days in peaceful devotion: by PADMAMUC'HI he had a daughter named ANTARMADA', and a ſon, BHA'LE'YANA'S, to whom, after the example of ancient monarchs, he reſigned his kingdom, when he grew old, and prepared himſelf for a better life.

Before his death he was very deſirous of performing the great *ſacrifice of a horſe*, called *Aſwamédha*, but conſiderable difficulties uſually attended that ceremony: for the conſecrated horſe was to be ſet at liberty for a certain time, and followed at a diſtance by the owner, or his champion, who was uſually one of his near kinſmen; and, if any perſon ſhould attempt to ſtop it in its rambles, a battle muſt inevitably enſue: beſides, as the performer of a hundred *Aſwamédhas* became equal to the God of the firmament, INDRA was perpetually on the watch, and generally carried off the ſacred animal by force or by fraud; though he could not prevent BELI from completing his hundredth ſacrifice; and that monarch put the ſupremacy of the *Dévas* to proof, at the time, when the *Padmá-mandira* was built on the banks of the *Cumudvatì;* nor did he prevail againſt RAGHU, whoſe combat with INDRA himſelf is deſcribed by CA'LIDA'S in a ſtyle perfectly *Homerick*. The great age of CAPE'NAS obliged him to employ his ſon in that perilous and delicate ſervice; but INDRA contrived to purloin the horſe, and BHA'LE'YANA'S reſolved never to ſee his father or kingdom, unleſs he could recover the myſtical victim: he wandered, therefore, through foreſts and over deſerts, till he came to the bank of the *Ganges* near *Avaca-pura*, or *Alacá-purì*, about twelve *crós* N. N. W. of *Badarí-nát'h;*

nát'h; and there in the agonies of deſpondence, he threw himſelf on the ground, wiſhing for death; but GANGA', the river-goddeſs, appeared to him, commanded him to return home, and aſſured him, that he ſhould have a ſon, whom ſhe would adopt by the name of GA'NGE'YANA'S, who ſhould overcome INDRA, and reſtore the horſe to his grandfather. Her prediction was in due time accompliſhed; and the young hero defeated the army of INDRA in a pitched battle near the river *Cálì*, whence he acquired the title of VIRAUJA-JIT, or vanquiſher of INDRA: the field of *battle* was thence named *Samara-ſt'hán*; and is alſo called *Vìráſaya*, becauſe the flower of *heroes* had been there lulled in the *ſleep* of death. BHA'LE'YANA'S, having a very religious turn of mind, placed his ſon on the throne; and, obſerving that his ſiſter ANTARMADA' had the ſame inclinations, retired with her to the foreſt of *Tapas*, in Upper *Egypt*; both intending to cloſe their days in devout auſterities, and in meditation on the ſupreme ſpirit. MA'YA'-DE'VÌ, or the goddeſs of worldly illuſion, who reſembles the APHRODITE *Pandemos* of the *Greeks*, and totally differs from JNYA'NA-DE'VI, or the goddeſs of celeſtial wiſdom, attempted to diſturb them, and to prevent them from reaping the fruit of their piety; but ſhe was unable to prevail over the fervent devotion of the two royal anchorites. Her failure of ſucceſs, however, gave her an unexpected advantage; for ANTARMADA' became too much elated with *internal pride*, which her name implies; and, boaſting of her victory over MA'YA'-DE'VÌ, ſhe added, that the inhabitants of the three worlds would pay her homage, that ſhe ſhould be like ARUNDHATÌ, the celebrated conſort of VASISHT'HA, and that, after her death, ſhe ſhould have a ſeat in the ſtarry manſion: this vaunt provoked MA'YA'-DE'VÌ to a phrenzy of rage; and ſhe flew to AURVA, requeſting him to ſet on fire the foreſts of *Tapas*; but VISHNU, in the ſhape of a hollow conical mountain,

 ſurrounded

ſurrounded the princeſs, and ſaved her from the flames; whence the place, where ſhe ſtood, was called the *ſt'hán* of *Ch'háditá*, or the *covered*, and *Periracſhitá*, or the *guarded on all ſides*. The enraged goddeſs then ſent a furious tempeſt; but VISHNU, aſſuming the form of a large tree, ſecured her with its trunk and branches at a place thence named *Racſhitá-ſt'hána*. MA'YA'DE'-VI, however, ſeized her, and caſt her into a certain ſea, which had afterwards the name of *Amagna*, becauſe VISHNU endued its waters with a power of ſupporting her on their ſurface; and they have ever ſince retained that property, ſo that *nothing ſinks* in them.

The fourth and laſt machination was the moſt dangerous and malignant: DE'VI carried ANTARMADA' to the ſea-ſhore, and chained her to a rock, that ſhe might be devoured by a *Gráha*, or ſea-monſter; but VISHNU, ever vigilant to preſerve her, animated a young hero, named PA'RASÍCA, who ſlew the monſter, and releaſed the intended victim, at a place named, from her deliverance, *Uddhára-ſt'hán*. He conducted her to his own country, and married her at a place called *Pánigraha*, becauſe he there *took her by the hand* in the nuptial ceremony: they paſſed through life happily, and after death, were both ſeated among the ſtars, together with CAPE'NAS and PADMAMUC'HÍ, who had alſo the patronymick of CA'SYAPÍ. Among the immediate deſcendants of PA'RASICA and ANTARMADA', we find VA'RASICA and RASICA, who reigned ſucceſſively. TIMICA and BHA'LUCA, who travelled, as merchants, into diſtant countries, and BHA'LUCA'YANI, who ſeems to have been the laſt of the race.

The pedigree of CAPE'NAS has been carefully preſerved; and many *Bráhmens* are proud of their deſcent from him:

CAS'YAPA

CAS'YAPA *and* ADITI.

'Sándiláyanás,	*Maunjáyanás,*
Cóhaláyanás,	*Jánavansáyanás,*
Páyacáyanás,	*Ványavatsáyanás,*
Daitéyáyanás,	*C'harvanáyanás,* 15.
Audamógháyanás, 5.	CAPE'YANA'S,
Mútráyanás,	*Bháléyanás,*
Vacyasandháyanás,	*Gángéyanás,*
C'harvagáyanás,	*Satrugáyanás,*
Cárusháyanás,	*Vailáyanás.* 20.
Vártáyanás, 10.	*Jánghráyanás,*
Vátsanáyanás,	*Cánsayanás.*

A twenty-third prince, named CANSALA'YANA'S, is added in some genealogical tables.

This is manifestly the same story with that of CEPHEUS and CASSIOPEA, PERSEUS and ANDROMEDA. The first name was written CAPHEUS, or CAPHYEUS, by the *Arcadians (a,)* and is clearly taken from CAPE'YA, the termination *nás* being frequently rejected. Some assert, that he left no male issue; and APOLLODORUS only says, that he had a daughter, named STEROPE, the same, I presume, with ANDROMEDA. The wife of CAPÉ'YA was either descended herself from CASYAPA, or was named CA'SYAPÍ, after her marriage with a prince of that lineage. PA'RASICA is declared in the *Puránas* to have been so called, because he came from *para,* or *beyond,* that is from beyond the river *Cáli,* or from the west of it; since it appears from the context, that he travelled from west to east: the countries on *this side* of the *Nile,* with respect to *India,* have thence been denominated *Arva-st'hán,*

(a) Pausan, Arcad.

st'hán, or, as the *Persians* write it, *Arabistán*; while those nations who were seated on *the other side* of it, were called *Párasícáh*, and hence came the *Pharusii*, or *Persæ*, of *Lybia*, who are said by PLINY to have been of *Persian* origin, or descended from PERSEUS, the chief scene of whose achievements was all the country from the western bank of the *Nile* to the ocean; but I do not believe that the word *Párasícáh* has any relation to the *Persians*, who in *Sanscrit* are called *Párasáh*, or inhabitants of *Parasa*, and sometimes *Párasaváh*, which may be derived from PARASU, or *Parasváh*, from their *excellent horses*. I must not omit, that *Arva-st'hán*, or *Arabia*, is by some derived from *Arvan*, which signifies *a fine horse*, the final letter being omitted in composition. ARVAN is also the name of an ancient sage, believed to be a son of BRA'HMA.

In order to prove, by every species of evidence, the identity of the *Grecian* and *Indian* fables, I one night requested my *Pandit*, who is a learned astronomer, to show me among the stars the constellation of *Antarmadá*; and he instantly pointed to *Andromeda*, which I had taken care not to show him first as an asterism, with which I was acquainted: he afterwards brought me a very rare, and wonderfully curious, book in *Sanscrit*, with a distinct chapter on the *Upanacshatras*, or constellations out of the Zodiack, and with delineations of CAPE'YA, of CA'SYAPÌ seated, with a lotos-flower in her hand, of ANTARMADA', chained with the fish near her, and of PA'RASI'CA holding *the head of a monster, which he had slain in battle, dropping blood, with snakes instead of hair*, according to the explanation given in the book: but let us return to the geography of the *Puránas*.

We mentioned, in the first Section, the two *Jwálámuc'hís*, near one of which the father of CAPE'YANA's resided: the *Jwálámuc'hì*, now *Corcúr*, which was also named *Anáyásá-dévist'hán*, was at no great distance from the *Tigris*, and seems, as we intimated before, to be the τῆς Ἀναίας Ἱερὸν of STRABO (*a.*) I suppose it to be the original *Ur* of the *Chaldeans*; original, I say, because there were several places of that name, both in *Syria* and *Chaldea*, where superstitious honours were paid to fire, either natural or artificial. The epithet *great* is applied in some *Puránas* to this *Jwálámuc'hì*, and in others to that near *Baku*: to this, perhaps, by way of eminence in sanctity; and to that, because its flames were more extended and fiercer. *Laya-st'hán*, or *Layavati*, where VISVACSE'NA closed his days near the *Cáli*, we have also mentioned in a preceding Section; and it was, probably, the *Lete* of JOSEPHUS (*b*,) or some place very near it. STEPHANUS of *Byzantium* calls it *Letopolis*, or *Latopolis*, and says, that it was a suburb of *Memphis* near the Pyramids (*c.*) *Ghóra-st'hán* is yet unknown: it could not have been very far from *Viswa-cirti pura*; but *universal fame* is applicable to so many cities of *Egypt*, that we cannot appropriate it to any one of them. Of *Tapas* and *Tapóvana* we have already spoken; and *Ch'hádita*, or *Periracshitá*, must have been in those forests of *Thebais*: the tree of *Racshitá* was, possibly, the Holy Sycamore mentioned by PLINY, fifty-four miles above *Syene*, on the banks of the *Nile* (*d.*) The sea of *Amagna* was, most probably, the *Asphaltite* lake, the waters of which had, and, some assert, have to this day, so buoyant a quality, that nothing could sink in them: MAUNDREL takes particular notice of this wonderful property. That lake was not far from *Uddhára-st'hán*, or *Joppe*, where *Andromeda* was chained to a rock: PLINY says, that the place of her confinement

(*a*) B. 17. p. 738. (*b*) B. 2. (*c*) B. 17. (*d*) Plin. L. 6. C. 29.

confinement and deliverance was shown there in his time *(a ;)* and the *Sanscrit* word *Yampá*, which the *Arabs* pronounce *Yáfah*, and *Europeans* call *Joppa*, means *deliverance from imminent danger*. On the *Egyptian* shore, opposite to *Joppa*, was a place called the *Watch-tower* of PERSEUS: by *Gráha*, a crocodile or a shark, we may understand also one of RA'HU's descendants, among whom the females were the *Graiaì*, or *Grææ* of the western mythologists. *Pánigraha* was, I suppose, the town of *Panopolis*, which could have no relation to the God PAN: for HERODOTUS, who had been there, informs us, that it was called both *Panopolis* and *Chemmis;* that the inhabitants of it paid divine honours to PERSEUS, and boasted that he was born in it; but had PAN, of whom that historian frequently speaks, been the tutelary god of the town, he would certainly have mentioned that fact: in the acts of the council of *Ephesus*, we find that SABINUS was *Panis Episcopus*, as if one named of the town had been *Pani* or *Panis;* and it might have been anciently named *Páni-grïha*, the *mansion* or *place* of the *hand*, that is of *wedlock*, which the *Greeks* would of course translate *Panopolis;* as we find *Rája-grïha* rendered *Rája-mahall* in the same sense. On the banks of the *Niger* was another town of that name, called *Panagra* by PTOLEMY; and, to the north of it, we see *Timica*, *Rusikibar*, *Rusuccurum*, and *Rusicade*, which have a great affinity with TIMICA and RASICA, before mentioned as descended from PERSEUS: both *Rasicbár* and *Rasic-gher* are *Indian* appellations of places; the first meaning the *enclosed ground* or *orchard*, and the second, (which is a corruption from the *Sanscrit)* the *house* of *Rasica*. Great confusion has arisen in the geography of *India* from the resemblance in sound of *gher*, a house, *gerh*, a fortress, and the second syllable of *nagar*, a town; thus *Crishna-nagar* is pronounced *Kishna gher*, and *Ram-*

 nagar,

(a) L. 5. C. 13, and 31. See also *Josephus*, *Strabo*, *Mela*.

nagar, *Ramna-gher*, both very erroneoully; ſo *Biſnagar* was probably *Viſhnu-nagar*, or *Viſva-nagar*: we muſt beware of this, and the like, confuſion, when we examine the many names of places in *Lybia*, and other parts of *Africa*, which are either pure *Sanſcrit*, or in ſuch of the dialects as are ſpoken in the weſt of *India*.

Let us conclude this article with obſerving, that the great extent of CAPE'YA's empire appears from the *Greek* Mythologiſts and other ancient writers; for the moſt conſiderable part of *Africa* was called *Cephenia*, from his full name CAPE'YANAS; the *Perſians* from him were ſtyled *Cephenes*; and a diſtrict in the ſouth of *Armenia* was denominated *Cephene*; a paſſage alſo in PLINY ſhows, that his dominion included *Ethiopia*, *Syria*, and the intermediate countries: "*Ethiopia*, "ſays he, was worn out by the wars of the *Egyp-* "*tians*, alternately ruling and ſerving; it was famed, "however, and powerful even to the *Trojan* wars in "the reign of MEMNON; and that, in the time of "king CEPHEUS, it had command over *Syria*, and "on our coaſt, is evident from the fables of ANDRO- "MEDA."

III. The following legend is taken from the *Mahácalpa*, and is there ſaid expreſsly to be an *Egyptian* ſtory. An ancient king, who was named CHATURA'-VANA, becauſe he was a perfect maſter of the *four Védas*, to which name VATSA was uſually prefixed, becauſe he was deſcended from VATSA, a celebrated ſage, paſſed a hundred years in a dark cavern of *Criſhna-giri*, or the Black Mountain, on the banks of the *Cáli*, performing the moſt rigorous acts of devotion: at length VISHNU, ſurnamed GUHA'SAYA, or a dwelling in caves, appeared to him, and promiſed him, all that he deſired, *male iſſue*; adding, that his ſon ſhould be named TAMO'VATSA, in alluſion to the *darkneſs*, in which his father had ſo long practiſed religious auſterities. TA-

MO'VATSA

MO'VATSA became a warlike and ambitious, but wise and devout, prince: he performed austere acts of humiliation to VISHNU, with a desire of enlarging his empire; and the God granted his boon. Having heard that *Misra-st'hán* was governed by NIRMARYA'DA, (a name, which may possibly be the origin of NIMROD,) who was powerful and unjust, he went with his chosen troops into that country, and, without a declaration of war, began to administer justice among the people, and to give them a specimen of a good king: he even treated with disdain an expostulary message from NIRMARYA'DA, who marched against him with a formidable army, but was killed in a battle, which lasted twelve days, and in which TAMO'VATSA fought like a second PARASU-RA'MA. The conqueror placed himself on the throne of *Misra*, and governed the kingdom with perfect equity. His son BA'HYAVATSA devoted himself to religion, and dwelt in a forest; having resigned his dominion to his son RUCMAVATSA, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved his country, that from his just revenues he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great, that he raised *three mountains*, called *Rucmádri*, *Rajatádri*, and *Retnádri*, or the mountain of *gold*, of *silver*, and of *gems*: the author says *mountains*; but it appears from the context, that they were fabricks, like mountains, and probably in a pyramidal form.

TAMO'VATSA seems to be the TIMAUS of MANETHO, who says, according Mr. BRYANT's translation, that "they once had a king called TIMAUS, in whose "reign there came on a sudden into their country a "large body of obscure people, who with great bold-"ness invaded the land, took it without opposition, "and behaved very barbarously, slaying the men, and "enslaving their wives and children." The *Hindus*, indeed, say, that the invaders were headed by TAMO'VATSA, who behaved with justice to the natives, but

but almoſt wholly deſtroyed the king's army, as the ſon of JAMADAGNI nearly extirpated the *military* claſs; but the fragments of MANETHO, although they contain curious matter, are not free from the ſuſpicion of errors and tranſpoſitions. The ſeat of TAMO'VATSA, called *Tamóvatſa-ſt'hán*, ſeems to be the town of *Thmuis*, now *Tmaiè*, in the diſtrict of *Thmuites*: in later times it appears to have communicated its name to the *Phatmetick* branch, and thence to *Tamiathis*, the preſent *Damiata*. We before aſcertained the ſituation of *Crĭſhna-giri*; and, as to the three ſtupendous edifices, called *mountains* from their ſize and form, there can be little or no doubt, that they were the three great Pyramids near *Miſra-ſt'hán*, or *Memphis*; which, according to the *Puránas* and to PLINY, were built from a motive of oſtentation, but, according to ARISTOTLE, were *monuments of tyranny*. RUCMAVATSA was no tyrant to his own people, whom *he cheriſhed*, ſays the *Mahácalpa*, as if they had been *his own children*: but he might have compelled the native *Egyptians* to work, for the ſake of keeping them employed, and ſubduing their ſpirit. It is no wonder that authors differ as to the founders of thoſe vaſt buildings; for the people of *Egypt*, ſays HERODOTUS, held their memory in ſuch deteſtation, that they would not even pronounce their names; they told him, however, that they were built by a herdſman, whom he calls PHILITIUS, and who was a leader of the *Pális* or *Bhils*, mentioned in our firſt Section. The Pyramids might have been called mountains of *gold*, *ſilver*, and *precious ſtones*, in the hyperbolical ſtyle of the Eaſt; but I rather ſuppoſe, that the firſt was ſaid to be of *gold*, becauſe it was coated with yellow marble; the ſecond of *ſilver*, becauſe it had a coating of white marble; and the third of *jewels*, becauſe it excelled the others in magnificence, being coated with a beautiful ſpotted marble of a fine grain, and ſuſceptible of an exquiſite poliſh (*a*). The *Bráh-*

mens

(*a*) Savary, Vol. I. p. 246.

mens never underſtood that any pyramid in *Miſra-ſt'hala*, or *Egypt*, was intended as a repoſitory for the dead; and no ſuch idea is conveyed by the *Mahácalpa*, where ſeveral other pyramids are expreſsly mentioned as places of worſhip. There are pyramids now at *Benáres*, but on a ſmall ſcale, with ſubterranean paſſages under them, which are ſaid to extend many miles: when the doors, which cloſe them, are opened, we perceive only dark-holes, which do not ſeem of great extent; and pilgrims no longer reſort to them through fear of mephitic air, or of noxious reptiles. The narrow paſſage, leading to the great pyramid in *Egypt*, was deſigned to render the holy apartment leſs acceſſible, and to inſpire the votaries with more awe: the caves of the oracle at *Delphi*, of TROPHONIUS, and of *New-Grange*, in *Ireland*, had narrow paſſages anſwering the purpoſe of thoſe in *Egypt* and *India*; nor is it unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the fabulous relations concerning the grot of the *Sibyl in Italy*, and the purgatory of ST. PATRICK, were derived from a ſimilar practice and motive, which ſeem to have prevailed over the whole Pagan world, and are often alluded to in Scripture. M. MAILLET has endeavoured to ſhow, in a moſt elaborate work, that the founder of the great pyramid lay entombed in it, and that its entrance was afterwards cloſed; but it appears, that the builder of it was not buried there; and it was certainly opened in the times of HERODOTUS and PLINY. On my deſcribing the great *Egyptian* pyramid to ſeveral very learned *Bráhmens*, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them aſked, if it had not a communication under ground with the river *Cáli*: when I anſwered, that ſuch a paſſage was mentioned as having exiſted, and that a well was at this day to be ſeen, they unanimouſly agreed, that it was a place appropriated to the worſhip of PADMA'DE'VÌ, and that the ſuppoſed tomb was a trough, which, on certain feſtivals, her prieſts uſed to fill with the ſacred water

and

and lotos flowers. What PLINY says of the Labyrinth is applicable alſo to the Pyramid: ſome inſiſted, that it was the palace of a certain king; ſome, that it had been the tomb of MŒRIS; and others, that it was built for the purpoſe of holy rites: a diverſity of opinion among the *Greeks*, which ſhows how little we can rely on them; and, in truth, their pride made them in general very careleſs and ſuperficial inquirers into the antiquities and literature of other nations.

IV. A ſingular ſtory, told in the *Uttara-charitra*, ſeems connected with the people, whom, from their principal city, we call *Romans*. It is related, that a ſage, named A'LAVA'LA, reſided on the verge of *Himádri*, and ſpent his time in cultivating orchards and gardens; his name or title implying a *ſmall canal* or *trench*, uſually dug round trees, for the purpoſe of watering them. He had an only ſon, whoſe name, in the patronymick form, was A'LAVA'LI: the young *Bráhmen* was beautiful as CA'MADE'VA, but of an amorous and roving diſpoſition; and having left the houſe of his father, in company with ſome youths like himſelf, he travelled as far as the city of *Rómacà*, which is deſcribed as agreeably ſituated, and almoſt impregnably ſtrong. The country, in which it ſtood, was inhabited by *Mléch'has*, or men who ſpeak a barbarous dialect; and their king had a lovely daughter, who happening to meet A'LAVA'LI, found means to diſcourſe with him: the young pair were ſoon mutually enamoured, and they had frequent interviews in a ſecret grove or garden; till the princeſs became pregnant, and, her damſels having betrayed her to the king, he gave orders for the immediate execution of A'LAVA'LI; but ſhe had ſufficient power to effect his eſcape from the kingdom. He returned home; but his comrades having long deſerted him, and informed his father of his intercourſe with the daughter of a *Mléch'ha*, the irritated ſage refuſed to admit him into his manſion; he wandered, therefore, from country to country, till he arrived

rived in *Barbara*, where he suffered extreme pain from the burning sands; and having reached the banks of the *Crĭshnà*, he performed a rigorous penance for many years, during which he barely supported life with water and dry leaves. At length MAHA'DE'VA appeared to him, assured him that his offence was forgiven, and gave him leave, on his humble request, to fix his abode on the banks of the holy river *Cálì*, restoring him to his lost sacerdotal class, and promising an increase of virtue and divine irradiation. From the character in which the God revealed himself, he was afterwards named AGHA-HE'SA, or *Lord of him who forsakes sin;* and the station of A'LAVA'LI was called *Aghahésa-st'hán*, or *Aghahésam.*

Now we find the outline of a similar tale in the ancient *Roman* history; and one would think that the *Hindu* writers wished to supply what was deficient in it. The old deities of *Rome* were chiefly rural, such as the *Fauns*, the *Sylvàns*, and others who presided over *orchards* and *gardens*, like the sage A'LAVA'LA: the *Sanscrit* word *ála*, which is lengthened to *álavála*, when the trench is carried quite round the tree, seems to be the root of ἀλωὰ, a vineyard or an orchard, ἀλωὴ in the same sense, ἄλσεα, gardens, and ἀλωεὺς, a gardener or husbandman. We read of VERTUMNA with child by APOLLO, the daughter of FAUNUS by HERCULES, and those of NUMITOR and TARCHETIUS, by some unknown Gods, or at least in a supernatural manner; which may be the same story differently told: the king of the *Mléch'has* would, no doubt, have saved the honour of his family, by pretending that his daughter had received the caresses of a rural divinity.

The origin of *Rome* is very uncertain; but it appears to have been at first a place of worship raised by the *Pelasgi* under the command of a leader, who, like many others, was named HERCULES: by erecting

ing other edifices round it, they made it the capital of their new weſtern ſettlements; and it became ſo ſtrong a city, that the *Greeks* called it *Rhomè*, or *power itſelf;* but *Rómacà*, which all the *Hindus* place very far in the weſt, was thus denominated, according to them, from *Róma*, or wool, becauſe its inhabitants wore mantles of *woollen cloth;* as the *Greeks* gave the epithet of λινοχλαίνης, from linen veſture, to the people of *Egypt*, and to thoſe eaſtern nations with whom they were acquainted. PLINY ſays, that the primitive name of *Rome* was ſtudiouſly concealed by the *Romans (a);* but AUGUSTINE informs us, that it was *Febris:* probably that word ſhould be written *Phoberis*. About two generations before the *Trojan* war, the *Pelaſgi* began to loſe their influence in the weſt, and *Rome* gradually dwindled into a place of little or no conſequence; but the old temple remained in it: according to the rules of grammatical derivation, it is more probable, that ROMULUS was thus named, becauſe he was found, when an infant, near the ſite of old *Rome*, than that new *Rome*, which he rebuilt and reſtored to power, ſhould have been ſo called from ROMULUS. A certain ROMANUS, believed to be a ſon of ULYSSES, is by ſome ſuppoſed to have built *Rome*, with as little reaſon as ROMULUS; if, indeed, they were not the ſame perſonage. ROMANUS, perhaps, was the king LATINUS, whom HESIOD mentions as *very powerful;* but whether he was the foreign prince whoſe daughter inſpired A'LAVA'LI with love, I cannot pretend to decide; however, theſe inquiries relate to the *dwíp* of *Varáha;* and the ſcope of our work leads us back to that of CUSHA.

It is reaſonable to believe, that *Aghakéſam* was the celebrated and ancient city of *Axum* in the vicinity of the little *Criſhná*, or the *Aſtaboras* of our old geographers, now called *Tacazzè;* which, according to Mr.

(a) L. 3. C. 5.

Mr. BRUCE, is the largeſt river in *Abyſſinia* next to the *Abay* or *Nile (a)*. It is alſo held *ſacred*, and the natives call it *Tenuſh Abay*, or Little *Nile*; a very ancient appellation; for STRABO gives the name of *Teneſis* to the country bordering on that river *(b)*. Hence, perhaps, the ancients miſtook this river for the *Nile*, to which they erroneouſly applied the name *Siris*; for the true *Siris* appears to be the Little *Criſhná*. The *Agows*, who live towards the heads of the *Nile* and the *Tacazzè*, may have derived their name from *Aghaha*; and we find the race of A'LAVA'LI ſettled as well in the iſles of the Red Sea near the *Abyſſinian* coaſt, as in the country adjacent to *Aghahéſam*: thoſe iſles were called *Alieu* and *Alaleæ*; and, in the diſtricts about the *Tacazzè*, were the *Elei* or *Eleii*, ſurnamed *Rhizophagi*, who dwelt on the banks of the *Aſtapus* and the *Aſtaboras*; in which denominations of iſlands and tribes we may trace the radical word *A'la* or *A'lavála*.

The ſmaller *Criſhná* was ſo denominated, either becauſe its waters were *black*, or becauſe it had its origin from an achievement of CRISHNA; and its name *Aſt'himatì*, was given on an occaſion which has been already mentioned, but which may here be related at large from the *Bráhmánda*. When CRISHNA viſited *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, and had deſtroyed the demon who infeſted that delightful country, he paſſed along the bank of a river, and was charmed with a delicious odour, which its waters diffuſed in their courſe: he was eager to view the ſource of ſo fragrant a ſtream, but was informed by the natives, that it flowed from the temples of an elephant, immenſely large, milk-white, and beautifully formed; that he governed a numerous race of elephants, and that the odoriferous fluid, which exuded from his temples in the ſeaſon of love, had formed the river, which, from his name, was called *Sanc'hanágà*; that

(a) Vol. 3. p. 157, 612. (b) B. 16. p. 770.

that the *Dévas*, or inferior gods, and the *Apsarases*, or nymphs, bathed and sported in its waters, impassioned and intoxicated with the liquid perfume. The *Hindu* poets frequently allude to the fragrant juice which oozes at certain seasons from small ducts in the temples of the male elephant, and is useful in relieving him from the redundant moisture with which he is then oppressed; and they even describe the bees as allured by the scent, and mistaking it for that of the sweetest flowers; but, though ARRIAN mentions this curious fact, no modern naturalist, I believe, has taken notice of it. CRISHNA was more desirous than before of seeing so wonderful a phenomenon, and formed a design of possessing the elephant himself; but SANC'HANA'GA led against him a vast army of elephants, and attacked him with such fury, that the incarnate God spent seven days in subduing the assailants, and seven more in attempting to seize their leader, whom at last he was obliged to kill with a stroke of his *Chacra*. The head of the huge beast had no sooner fallen on the ground, where it lay like a mountain, than a beautiful *Yacsha*, or Genius, sprang from the body, who prostrated himself before CRISHNA, informing him, that he was VIJAYA-VERDHANA, who had once offended MAHA'DE'VA, and been condemned by him to pass through a mortal form; that he was supremely blessed in owing his deliverance to so mighty a God, and would instantly, with his permission, return to his appeased master. The victor assented, and left the field of battle; where, from the *bones* of the slain elephants, rose a lake, thence named *Ast'hitarága*, from which flowed the river *Ast'hmatì*, whose hallowed waters, adds the author of the *Purána*, remove sin and worldly affections: *ast'hi*, a *bone*, pronounced *ost'hi* in some provinces, is clearly the *Greek* ὀςέον, and its derivative *ast'himat* becomes *ast'himán* in the first case, masculine; whence the river is by some old geographers called *Aistamenos*; for the names of rivers, which are feminine for the most part in *Sanscrit*, are generally masculine

masculine in the western languages. We find it named also *Astaboras* and *Astabaras*; for *Ast'hivara* means the *most excellent bone*, or ivory: and the *Adiabaræ*, who lived, says PLINY, on its banks, took their name, perhaps, from the river, the word *ast'hi* being pronounced *áti* and *ádi* in some vulgar dialects: as the *Sanscrit* word *hasti*, an elephant, is corrupted into *háti*. *Mareh*, or *Sanc'hánágá*, was anciently named *Astosabas*, or *Astusobas*, possibly from *Hastisrava*, or *flowing from an elephant*, in allusion to the legend before related; and one would have thought *Hastimatì*, or *Hastimán*, a more rational appellation for the *Tacazzè*, since there are in fact many elephants in the country which it waters. We must beware of confounding SANC'HANA'GA, or the *Elephant* of *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, with SANC'HA-NA'GA, or the *Shell-serpent*, of whom we have already given a sufficient account, and concerning whom we have nothing to add, except that the people of the mountains, now called *Hubáb*, have legendary traditions of a Snake, who formerly reigned over them, and conquered the kingdom of *Sirè*.

V. Concerning the river *Nandá*, or the *Nile* of *Abyssinia*, we meet with the following tales in the *Padmacósha*, or *Treasure of Lotos-flowers*. A king, named APYA'YANA, finding himself declining very low in the vale of years, resigned his throne to APA'MVAIS'A, his son, and repaired with his wife S'ARMADA' to the hermitage of a renowned and holy *Bráhmen*, whose name was MRICA, or MRICU, intending to consult him on the mode of entering into the third *Asrama*, or order, called *vánaprest'ha*. They found only the son of the sage, named *Márca*, or *Márcava*, who gave them full instructions, and accompanied them to the hilly parts of the country, where he advised them to reside. When they arrived at their destined retreat, the *Dévas*, pleased with their piety, scattered *flowers* on them like rain, whence the mountains were called *Pushpavarsha*, according to the derivation

vation of the Mythologists; but *Pushpavarsham*, which is the name of the country round them, may signify no more than the region of flowers: the Gods were not satisfied with a shower of blossoms, and when the first ceremonies were performed at *Pushpa-versa st'hán*, they *rained* also *tears of joy*, which being mingled with those of the royal pair and the pious hermit, formed the river *Nandà*, whose waters hastened to join the *Cálì*, and their united streams fell at length into the *Sanc'hábdhi*, or sea of *Sanc'ha*. The goddess, who presided over the *Nandà*, passed near the mansion of a sage named SA'NTAPANA, a child of SANTAPANA, or the Sun, who ran with delight to meet her, and conducted her near his hermitage, where *Dévatás* and *Rǐshis* were assembled to pay her divine honours: they attended her to the place of her confluence with the great *Crǐshna*, near which was afterwards built *Sántapana-st'hán*, and there the sage fixed a *linga*, or emblem of SA'NTAPANA'-SIVA, to which prostrations must be made, after prescribed ablution in the hallowed waters, by all such as desire a seat in the mansions of *Swerga*.

The mountains and country of *Pushpavarsha* seem to be those round the lake *Dembea*, which immediately after the rains, says Mr. BRUCE, look, from the blossoms of the *Wanzey*, as if they were covered with white linen or new-fallen snow. DIODORUS calls them *Pseuaras* in the oblique case; and STRABO, *Psebæos*; the lake itself being also named *Pseboa*, or *Psebo*, from the *Sanscrit* word *pushpa*. By one of the old *Hindu* writers the river *Nandá* is placed between *Barbara* and *Cusha-dwíp*; by another, in *Sanc'ha-dwíp* itself; but this is easily reconciled, for, according to the more ancient division of the earth, the exterior *dwíp* of CUSHA was considered as a part of *Sanc'ha-dwíp*; though, in the new division, it is just the reverse: all agree, that the *Nandá* runs, in great part of its course, from south to north; and hence many *Bráhmens* draw a conclusion,

2 which

which by no means follows, that the *Cáli*, which it joins, must flow from west to east. *Sántapana-st'hán*, I conceive to have stood at the *prayága* or *trevéni*, that is, at the confluence of the smaller *Crishná* with the united waters of the *Nandá* and the *Cáli*; and I suppose it to have been the APOLLINIS *oppidum* of PLINY (a), or the capital of the *Adiabaræ*, called also *Megabari*, whom I have already mentioned: for SA'NTAPANA was an *avatár*, or incarnate form, of the Sun, and the country around his *asrama*, or hermitage, is known to this day by the name of *Kuara*, which means the Sun, according to Mr. BRUCE, and which is no other than the *Sanscrit* word *Cwára*, or *going* round the *earth*: the *Nandá*, I presume, or *Nile* of *Abyssinia*, was also named the river of SA'NTAPANA, whence the *Greeks* first made *Astapún* in the oblique case, and thence, as usual, formed the nominative *Astapus*. According to the *Puránas*, the *Nandá* and Little *Crĭshna* unite before they fall into the *Cáli*; and PTOLEMY also supposes that they join near the southern border of *Meroe*, and then are divided, one branch flowing eastward, and another westward, into the main body of the *Nile*. That inquisitive geographer acknowledges himself indebted for much useful information to many learned *Indians* whom he knew at *Alexandria*, and those *Hindus* were probably acquainted with the *Puránas*; but ERATOSTHENES was better informed than PTOLEMY with respect to the rivers in question; and the mistake of the *Hindu* authors may have arisen from a fact, mentioned by Mr. BRUCE, that, during the rains, the floods divide themselves, part running westward into the *Nile*, part eastward into the *Tacazzè*. It should not be omitted, that the country of the sage MRICU, and his son MA'RCAVA, seems to be that of the *Macrobii*, now inhabited by the *Gonguas*, *Gubas*, and *Shangallas*; the *Greeks*, according to their custom, having changed *Marcaba*

(a) Lib. 6. Cap. 30.

Marcaba into *Macrobios*, or long-lived; though that country, says the *Abyssinian* traveller, is one of the most unhealthy on earth; indeed, if MA'RCANDE'YA, the son of MRICANDU, be the same person with MA'RCAVA, he was truly *Macrobios*, one of the nine *long-lived* sages of the *Puráns*.

VI. The next legend is taken from the *Mahâcalpa*; that we introduce here as illustrative of that which has been related in the second Section, concerning the two *Indian* Gods of Medicine, to whom some places in *Egypt* were consecrated.

A most pious and venerable Sage, named RISHI'CESA, being very far advanced in years, had resolved to visit, before he died, all the famed places of pilgrimage; and, having performed his resolution, he bathed at last in the sacred water of the *Câlì*, where he observed some fishes engaged in amorous play, and reflecting on their numerous progeny, which would sport like them in the stream, he lamented the improbability of his leaving any children: but, since he might possibly be a father, even at his great age, he went immediately to the king of that country, HIRANYAVERNA, who had fifty daughters, and demanded one of them in marriage. So strange a demand gave the prince great uneasiness; yet he was unwilling to incur the displeasure of a saint, whose imprecations he dreaded: he, therefore, invoked HERI, or VISHNU, to inspire him with a wise answer, and told the hoary philosopher, that he should marry any one of his daughters, who of her own accord should fix on him as her bridegroom. The sage, rather disconcerted, left the palace; but, calling to mind the two sons of ASWINÌ, he hastened to their terrestrial abode, and requested that they would bestow on him both youth and beauty: they immediately conducted him to *Abhimatada*, which we suppose to be *Abydus* in Upper *Egypt*; and, when he had bathed in the

the pool of *Rúpayauvana*, he was reſtored to the flower of his age, with the graces and charms of GA'MADE'VA. On his return to the palace, he entered the ſecret apartments, called *antahpura*, where the fifty princeſſes were aſſembled; and they were all ſo tranſported with the viſion of more than human beauty, that they fell into an *ecſtaſy*, whence the place was afterwards named *Móhaſt'hán*, or *Móhana*, and is, poſſibly, the ſame with *Mohannan*: they no ſooner had recovered from their trance, than each of them exclaimed, that ſhe would be his bride; and their altercation having brought HIRANYAVERNA into their apartment, he terminated the conteſt, by giving them all in marriage to RISHICE'SA, who became the father of a hundred ſons; and, when he ſucceeded to the throne, built the city of *Suc'haverddhana*; framed *vimánas*, or celeſtial ſelf-moving cars, in which he viſited the Gods; and made gardens, abounding in delights, which rivalled the bowers of INDRA; but, having gratified the deſire which he formed at *Matſyaſangama*, or the place where the *fiſh* were *aſſembled*, he reſigned the kingdom to his eldeſt ſon, HIRANYAVRIDDHA; and returned in his former ſhape to the banks of the *Cálì*, where he cloſed his days in devotion.

VII. A very communicative *Pandit* having told me a ſhort ſtory, which belongs to the ſubject of this Section, it ſeems proper to mention it, though I do not know from what *Purán* it is taken. ARUNA'TRI, the fifth in deſcent from ATRI before named, was performing religious rites on the *Dévánéca* mountains, near the ſite of the modern *Cábul*, when a hero, whoſe name was TULYA, deſired his ſpiritual advice; informing him, that he had juſt completed the conqueſt of *Barbara*, ſubdued the *Syámamuc'has*, who lived to the eaſt of the river *Cálì*, and overcome the *Sanc'háyanas*; but that ſo great an effuſion of blood, for the ſake of dominion and fame, had ſuſtained his ſoul with a ſinful impurity,

 which

which he was desirous of expiating: the Sage accordingly prescribed a fit penance, which the conqueror performed in the interior *Cusha-dwip*. A certain THOULES, or TAULES, is mentioned in *Egyptian* history as a son of ORUS the Shepherd.

VIII. In the first part of this Essay, we intimated an opinion, that *Ugra-st'hán* was a part of *Memphis*, and that UGRA, whom the *Hindus* make a king of *Dwáracá*, in *Gujjara-dés*, or *Gujarát*, was the UCHOREUS, or OGDOUS, of the *Greeks*: nor is it impossible, that VEXORIS, who is represented as a great conqueror, was the same person with UCHOREUS. The story of UGRA, or UGRASE'NA, we find in a book entitled *Amaréswara-sangraha-tantra*; from which the following passage is verbally translated: "UGRASE'NA, chief of kings, was a "bright ornament of the *Yádava* race; and having "taken CRISHNA for his associate, he became sove-"reign of all the *Dwípas*: the *Devás*, the *Yacshas*, "and the *Rácshasas*, paid him tribute again and again: "having entered *Cusha-dwíp*, and vanquished its princes, "elate with pride, the monarch raised an image of "ISWARA on the banks of the river *Cáli*, whence the "God was famed by the title of UGRE'SWARA, and the "place was called *Ugra-st'hána*."

IX. The following legend from the *Uttara-c'handa*, is manifestly connected with the oldest history and mythology in the world. INDRA, king of *Méru*, having slain a *Daitya* of the sacerdotal class, was obliged to retire from the world, in order to perform the penance ordained for the crime of *Brahmahatyá*, or the murder of a *Bráhmen*: his dominions were soon in the greatest disorder, and the rebel *Daityas* oppressed the *Dévas*, who applied for assistance to NAHUSHA, a prince of distinguished virtues, whom they unanimously elected king of their heavenly mansions, with the title of DE'VANAHUSHA. His first object was to reduce the *Dai-*

tya

tyas and the ſovereigns of all the *dwípś*, who had ſhaken off their allegiance; for which purpoſe he raiſed an immenſe army, and marched through the interior *Cuſha-dwíp*, or *Iran* and *Arabia*, through the exterior *dwip* of CUSHA, or *Ethiopia*, through *Sanc'ha-dwíp*, or *Egypt*, through *Varáha-dwíp*, or *Europe*, through *Chandra-dwíp*, and through the countries now called *Siberia* and *China*: when he invaded *Egypt*, he overthrew the combined forces of the *Cutila-céſas* and *Syáma-muc'has* with ſo terrible a carnage, that the *Cálì* (a word which means alſo the *female devourer*) was reported to have ſwallowed up the natives of *Egypt*, whoſe bodies were thrown into her ſtream. During his travels he built many places of worſhip, and gave each of them the title of *Dévanáhuſham*. The principal rivers of the countries through which he paſſed, were alſo diſtinguiſhed by his name; NAHUSHA being an appellation of the *Nile*, of the *Chacſhu* or *Oxus*, of the *Varáha* or *Iſter*, and of ſeveral others. He returned through *India* to *Méru*, but unhappily fell in love with SACHÌ, or PULÓMAJÁ, the conſort of INDRA, who ſecretly reſolved on perfect fidelity to her lord, and, by the advice of VRIHASPATI, regent of the planet *Jupiter*, and preceptor of the *Dévas*, promiſed NAHUSHA to favour his addreſſes, if he would viſit her in a *dólà*, or palanquin, carried on the ſhoulders of the holieſt *Bráhmens*: he had ſufficient influence to procure a ſet of reverend bearers; but ſuch was the ſlowneſs of their motion, and ſo great was his eagerneſs to ſee his beloved, that he ſaid with impatience to the chief of them, *Serpe*, *Serpe*, which has preciſely the ſame ſenſe in *Sanſcrit* and in *Latin*; and the ſage, little uſed to ſuch an imperative, anſwered, "Be thyſelf a ſerpent." Such was the power of divine learning, that the imprecation was no ſooner pronounced, than the king fell on the earth in the ſhape of that large ſerpent which is called *Ajágara* in *Sanſcrit*, and *Boa* by Naturaliſts: in that ſtate of humiliation he found his way to the *Black Mountains*, and glided in ſearch of prey along the banks

of the *Cáli;* but, having once attempted to ſwallow a *Bráhmen* deeply learned in the *Védas*, he felt a ſcorching flame in his throat, and was obliged to diſgorge the ſage alive, by contact with whom his own intellects, which had been obſcured by his fall, became irradiated; and he remembered with penitence his crime and its puniſhment. He ceaſed from that day to devour human creatures, and, having recovered his articulation together with his underſtanding, he wandered through the regions adjacent to the *Nile*, in ſearch of ſome holy *Bráhmen*, who could predict the termination of his deſerved miſery: with this view he put many artful queſtions to all whom he met, and at length received information, that he would be reſtored to his priſtine ſhape by the ſons of Pandu. He had no reſource, therefore, but patience, and again traverſed the world, viſiting all the temples and places of pilgrimage, which he had named from himſelf in his more fortunate expedition: at laſt he came to the ſnowy mountains of *Himálaya*, where he waited with reſignation for the arrival of the Pan'davas, whoſe adventures are the ſubject of Vyása's great Epick Poem.

This fable of De'va-nahusha, who is always called Deo-naush in the popular dialects, is clearly the ſame in part with that of Dionysius, whether it allude to any ſingle perſonage, or to a whole colony; and we ſee in it the origin of the *Grecian* fiction, that Dionysius was ſewed up in the *Meros*, or *thigh*, of Jupiter; for *Méru*, on which Deva-nahusha reſided for a time, was the ſeat of Indra, or Zeus *Ombrios*: by the way, we muſt not confound the celeſtial *Méru* with a mountain of the ſame appellation near *Cábul*, which the natives, according to the late Mr. Forster, ſtill call *Mer-coh*, and the *Hindus*, who conſider it as a ſplinter of the heavenly mountain, and ſuppoſe that the Gods occaſionally deſcend on it, have named *Méru-ſringa*. Names are often ſo ſtrangely corrupted, that we ſuſpect

pect DEO-NAUSH to be alſo the *Scythian* monarch, called TANAUS by JUSTIN *(a)*, and TAUNASIS by JORNANDES, who conquered *Aſia*, travelled into *Egypt*, and gave his name to the river otherwiſe called *Iaxartes*: we have already mentioned *Nous* as a *Greek* name of the *Nile*, and the *Danube* or *Iſther* was known alſo by that of *Danuſius* or *Tanais (b)*; in which points the *Purânas* coincide with HORUS, APOLLO, EUSTATHIUS, and STRABO.

X. The author of the *Viśva-pracás* gives an account of an extraordinary perſonage, named DARDA'NA'SA, who was lineally deſcended from the great JAMADAGNI: his father ABHAYA'NA'S lived on the banks of the river *Vitaſtà*, where he conſtantly performed acts of devotion, explained the *Védas* to a multitude of pupils, and was choſen by CHITRARAT'HA, who, though a *Vaiſya*, reigned in that country, as his *guru*, or ſpiritual guide. Young DARDA'NA'SA had free acceſs to the ſecret apartments of the palace, where the daughter of the king became enamoured of him, and eloped with him through fear of detection, carrying away all the jewels and other wealth that ſhe could collect: the lovers travelled from hill to hill, and from foreſt to foreſt, until they reached the banks of the *Cálì*, where their property ſecured them a happy retreat. PRAMÓDA, a virtuous and learned *Bráhmen* of that country, had a beautiful daughter, named PRAMADA', whom DARDA'NA'SA, with the aſſent of the princeſs, *took by the hand*, that is, *married*, according to the rites preſcribed in the *Véda*; and his amiable qualities gained him ſo many adherents, that he was at length choſen ſovereign of the whole region, which he governed with mildneſs and wiſdom. His anceſtry and poſterity are thus arranged:

JAMADAGNI,

(a) Lib. 1. Cap. 1. and Lib. 2. Cap. 36.
(b) *Euſtath.* on *Dionyſ. Perieg.* v. 298.

JAMADAGNI,

Jámadagni,	*Abhayánás,*
Práchínás,	DARDA'NA's,
Támránás,	*Vainabhrĭtánás,*
Náshtránás,	*Técánás,*
Bhúnjánás,	*Bháhánás,*
Craunchánás,	*Traicáyanyás,*
Abhayajátánás,	*Avadátánás.*

The river here named *Vitastà*, and vulgarly *Jelam*, is the *Hydaspes* of the *Greeks*: a nation who lived on its banks, are called *Dardaneis*, by DIONYSIUS *(a)*; and the *Grecian* DARDANUS was probably the same with DARDA'NA'SA, who travelled into *Egypt* with many associates. We find a race of *Trojans* in *Egypt*; a mountain, called anciently *Troicus*, and now *Tora*, fronted *Memphis*; and at the foot of it was a place actually named *Troja*, near the *Nile*, supposed to have been an old settlement of *Trojans*, who had fled from the forces of MENELAUS; but CTESIAS, who is rather blameable for credulity than for want of veracity, and most of whose fables are to be found in the *Puráns*, was of a different opinion; for he asserted, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, that *Troja*, in *Egypt*, was built by *Trojans*, who had come from *Assyria* under the famed SEMIRAMIS *(b)*, named SAMI'RAMA' by the ancient *Hindu* writers; and this account is confirmed by HERODOTUS, who says, that a race of DARDANIANS were settled on the banks of the river *Gyndes*, near the *Tigris*, *(c)*, where, I imagine, DARDA'NA'SA, and his associates, first established themselves, after their departure from *India (d)*.

EUSTATHIUS,

(a) Perieg. v. 11. 38. *(b)* B. 2. *(c)* B. 1. C. 18
(d) *Iliad*, Y. v. 215.

Eustathius, in his comment on the *Periegesis*, distinguishes the *Dardanei* from the *Dardanoi*, making the first an *Indian*, and the second a *Trojan*, race *(a;)* but it seems probable, that both races had a common origin: when Homer gives the *Trojans* the title of *Meropians*, he alludes to their eastern origin from the borders of *Méru;* the very name of king Merops being no other than Me'rupa, or sovereign of that mountainous region.

XI. We come now to a person of a different character; not a prince or a hero, but a bard, whose life is thus described in the *Viśvasára*. On the banks of the *Cálì* dwelt a *Bráhmen*, whose name was Le'c'ha'yana's; a sage rigorously devout, skilled in the learning of the *Védas*, and firmly attached to the worship of Heri; but, having no male issue, he was long disconsolate, and made certain oblations to the God, which proved acceptable; so that his wife Sa'ncriti became pregnant, after she had tasted part of the *charu*, or cake of rice, which had been offered: in due time she was delivered of a beautiful boy, whom the *Brahmens*, convened at the *játacarma*, or ceremony on his birth, unanimously agreed to name Heridatta, or *given* by the divinity. When the *sanscára*, or institution of a *Bráhmen*, was completed by his investiture with the sacerdotal string, and the term of his studentship in the *Véda* was past, his parents urged him to enter into the *second* order, or that of a married man; but he ran into the woods, and passed immediately into the *fourth* order, disclaiming all worldly connections, and wholly devoting himself to Vishnu: he continually practised the *samadhiyóga*, or *union with the Deity by contemplation;* fixing his mind so intensely on God, that his vital soul seemed concentrated in the *Brahma-randhra*, or pineal

(a) Οἱ Δαρδανεῖς, Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος, οἱ μέντοι Δάρδανοι, Τρωϊκόν.
Eustath, on *Dionys*. v. 11. 38.

pineal gland, while his animal faculties were ſuſpended, but his body ſtill uncorrupted, till the reflux of the ſpirits put them again in motion; a ſtate, in which the *Hindus* aſſert, that ſome *Yógis* have remained for years, and the fanciful gradations of which are minutely deſcribed in the *Yóga-ſáſtra*, and even delineated, in the figures called *Shatchacra*, under the emblems of lotos-flowers with different numbers of petals, according to the ſuppoſed ſtations of the ſoul in her myſtical aſcent. From this habit of *merging* all his vital *ſpirits* in the idea of the Supreme Being, HERIDATTA was named LI'NA'SU; a name which the people repeated with enthuſiaſm; and he became the *guru*, or ſpiritual director, of the whole nation: he then rambled over the earth, ſinging and dancing, like a man in a phrenſy; but he ſang no hymns, except thoſe which himſelf had compoſed; and hence it came, that all older hymns were neglected, while thoſe of LINA'SU alone were committed to memory from his lips, and acquired univerſal celebrity. Other particulars of his life are mentioned in the *Purānas*, where fragments of his poetry are, moſt probably, cited: I have no doubt, that he was the ſame perſon with the LINUS of the *Greeks*; and, if his hymns can be recovered, they will be curious at leaſt, if not inſtructive. LINA'SU was the eighth in deſcent from the ſage BHARADWA'JA, whom ſome call the ſon of VRIHASPATI, or the regent of *Jupiter*: he is ſaid to have married at an advanced age, by the ſpecial command of HERI, and five of his deſcendants are named in the following pedigree:

BHARADWA'JA,	*Lec'háyanás*,
Cáriſháyanás,	LI'NA'SU, or *Línáyanás*,
Cſhamyáyanás,	*Caundáyanás*, 10.

Gaurivāyanás,

Gaurivâyanás,		*Máshâyanás,*
Cárunáyanás,	5.	*Cámacáyanás,*
Bhrityáyanás,		*Sánc'haláyanás,*
Sic'háyánás,		*Cásucáyanás.*

XII. The tale of LUBDHACA relates both to the morals and astronomy of the *Hindus*, and is constantly recited by the *Bráhmens* on the *night* of SIVA, which falls on the *fourteenth* of *Mágha*, or of *P'hálgun*, according as the month begins from the opposition or from the conjunction.

LUBDHACA was descended from the race of *Palli*, and governed all the tribes of *Cirátas*: he was violent and cruel, addicted passionately to the pleasures of the chace, killing innocent beasts without pity, and eating their flesh without remorse. On the *fourteenth* lunar day of the dark half of *P'hálgun*, he had found no game in the forest; and at sun-set, faint with hunger, he roved along the banks of the *Crishná*, still earnestly looking for some animal whom he might shoot: at the beginning of night he ascended a *Bilva*-tree, which is consecrated to MAHA'DE'VA, whose emblem had been fixed under it near a spring of water; and, with a hope of discerning some beast through the branches, he tore off the leaves, which dropped on the *linga*, sprinkling it with dew; so that he performed sacred rites to the God, without intending any act of religion. In the first watch of the night a large male antelope came to the spring; and LUBDHACA, hearing the sound which he made in drinking, fixed his arrow, and took aim at the place whence the noise proceeded; when the animal, being endued by SIVA with speech and intellect, told him, that he had made an assignation with a beloved female, and requested him to wait with patience till the next day, on which he promised to return: the mighty hunter was softened, and, though nearly famished,

famiſhed, permitted the antelope to depart, having firſt exacted an oath, that he would perform his engagement. A female antelope, one of his conſorts, came in the ſecond watch to drink at the ſpring; who was in like manner allowed to eſcape, on her ſolemn promiſe, that ſhe would return, when ſhe had committed her helpleſs young to the care of a ſiſter; and thus, in the third and fourth watches, two other females were releaſed for a time on pretences nearly ſimilar, and on ſimilar promiſes. So many acts of tender benevolence in ſo trying a ſituation, and the rites to MAHA'DE'VA, which accompanied them from watch to watch, though with a different intention, were pleaſing to the God, who enlightened the mind of LUBDHACA, and raiſed in him ſerious thoughts on the cruelty of ſlaying the innocent for the gratification of his appetite: at early dawn he returned to his manſion, and, having told his family the adventure of the night, aſked whether, if he ſhould kill the antelopes, they would participate his guilt, but they diſclaimed any ſhare in it, and inſiſted, that, although it was his duty to provide them with ſuſtenance, the puniſhment of ſin muſt fall on him ſolely. The faithful and amiable beaſt at that moment approached him, with his three conſorts and all his little ones, deſiring to be the firſt victim; but LUBDHACA exclaimed, that he would never hurt his friend and his guide to the path of happineſs, applauded them for their ſtrict obſervance of their promiſes, and bade them return to the woods, into which he intimated a deſign of following them as a hermit: his words were no ſooner uttered, than a celeſtial car deſcended with a meſſenger from SIVA, by whoſe order the royal convert and the whole family of antelopes were ſoon wafted, with radiant and incorruptable bodies, to the ſtarry regions, fanned by heavenly nymphs, as they roſe, and ſhaded by genii, who held umbrellas, while a chorus of etherial ſongſters chanted the praiſes of tenderneſs to living creatures, and a rigorous adherence to truth. LUBDHACA

3 was

was appointed regent of *Sirius*, which is called the *yóga* ſtar; his body is chiefly in our Greater Dog, and his *arrow* ſeems to extend from β in that aſteriſm to κ in the knee of ORION, the *three* ſtars in whoſe neck are the lunar manſion *Mrigaſiras*, or the *head* of the male *antelope*, who is repreſented looking round at the archer; the *three* ſtars in the belt are the females, and thoſe in the ſword, their young progeny; MAHA'DE'VA, that he might be near his favourites, placed himſelf, it is ſaid, in the next lunar manſion *A'rdrà*, his head being the bright ſtar in the ſhoulder of ORION, and his body including thoſe in the arm with ſeveral ſmaller ſtars in the galaxy. The ſon of LUBDHACA ſucceeded him on earth, and his lineal deſcendants yet reign, ſays the author of the *Purán*, on the delightful banks of the *Criſhná*.

This legend proves a very material fact, that the *Pallis* and *Cirátas* were originally the ſame people; it ſeems to indicate a reformation in ſome of the religious tenets and habits of the nations bordering on the *Criſhná*; and the whole appears connected with the famous *Egyptian* period regulated by the heliacal riſing of *Sirius*: the river here mentioned I ſuppoſe to be the ſmallar *Criſhná*, or the *Siris* of the ancients, ſo named, as well as the province of *Siré*, from the word *Seir*, which means a *dog*, ſays Mr. BRUCE, in the language of that country. The conſtellations of ORION and the two Dogs point at a ſimilar ſtory differently told; but the name of LUBDHACA ſeems changed by the *Greeks* into LABDACUS: for ſince, like the ancient *Indians*, they applied to their new ſettlements the hiſtory and fables of their primitive country, they repreſent LABDACUS as the grandſon of CADMUS, the ſon of POLYDORUS, (for ſo they were pleaſed to diſguiſe the name,) and the father of LAIUS: now CADMUS, as we have ſhown, was CARDAME'SWARA, or MAHA'DE'VA, and POLYDORUS,

LYDORUS, or POLYDOTUS, was PALLIDATTA, the *gift* of the national god *Palli* or *Nairrit.* As to LABDACUS, he died in the flower of his age, or disappeared, say the *Hindus*, and was translated into heaven; but, during his minority, the reigns of government were held by LYCUS, a son of NYCTEUS, or NACTUN-CHARA: he was succeeded by LAIUS, which, like *Páli*, means a *herdsman* or *shepherd;* for λαία, λεία, and λεὶη, signify herds and flocks; and thus we find a certain LAIUS, who had a son BUCOLION, and a grandson PHIALUS, both which names have a reference to *pasture*, for the Shepherds were called by the *Greeks* Αγελαῖοι, and AGELAIA was synonymous with PALLAS. The son of LAIUS was ŒDIPUS, with whose dreadful misfortune, as we intimated in the first section, the *Hindus* are not unacquainted, though they mention his undesigned incest in a different manner, and say, that YÓGABRASHTÀ, whom they describe as a flagitious woman, entered into the service of some cowherds, after the miserable death of her son MAHA'SU'RA, or the *Great Hero*, by LINA'SU, the son of LUBDHACA, who was descended from PALLI: the whole story seems to have been *Egyptian*, though transferred by the *Greeks* to *Thebes* in their own country.

XIII. The last piece of history, mixed with an astrological fable, which I think it useful to add, because it relates to *Barbara*, is the legend of DA'SARAT'HA, or the monarch, *whose car had borne him to ten regions*, or to the *eight* points, the zenith, and the nadir: it is told both in the *Bhawishya Purán* and the *Bráhmánda.* He was descended from SU'RYA, or HE'LI, which is a name of the Sun in *Greek* and in *Sanscrit:* one of his ancestors, the great RAGHU, had conquered the seven *dwípas*, or the whole earth, and VISHNU became incarnate in the person of his son RA'MACHANDRA. It happened in the reign of DASARAT'HA, that SANI, having just left the lunar mansion *Crìttìcà*, or the Pleiads,

was

was entering the Hyads, which the *Hindus* call *Róhinì*, and that paſſage of SATURN is diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Sacata-bhéda*, or the *ſection of the wain*: an univerſal drought having reduced the country to the deepeſt diſtreſs, and a total depopulation of it being apprehended, the king ſummoned all his aſtrologers and philoſophers, who aſcribed it ſolely to the unfortunate paſſage of the malignant planet; and VASISHT'HA added, that, unleſs the monarch himſelf would attack SANI, as he ſtrongly adviſed, neither INDRA nor BRA'HMA himſelf could prevent the continuance of the drought for twelve years. DASARAT'HA that inſtant aſcended his miraculous car of pure gold, and placed himſelf at the entrance of *Róhinì*, blazing like his progenitor the Sun, and drawing his bow, armed with the tremendous arrow *Sanhâráſtra*, which attracts all things with irreſiſtible violence: SANI, *the ſlow-moving child of* SU'RYA, *dreſſed in a blue robe, crowned with a diadem, having four arms, holding a bow, a ſpiked weapon, and a cimeter*, (thus he is deſcribed in one verſe) diſcerned his formidable opponent from the laſt degree of *Crĭttícà*, and rapidly deſcended into the land of *Barbara*, which burſt into a flame, while he concealed himſelf far under ground. The hero followed him; and his legions, marching to his aſſiſtance, periſhed in the burning ſands; but SANI was attracted by the magnetick force of the *Sanhâráſtra*, and, after a vehement conflict, was overpowered by DASARAT'HA, who compelled him to promiſe, that he never more would attempt to paſs through the wain of *Róhinì*: the victor then returned to his palace, and the regent of the planet went to SANI-*ſt'hán* in *Barbara*, while the ground, on which he had fought, aſſumed a red hue. The *Hindu* aſtrologers ſay, that SANI has hitherto performed his promiſe, but that, in four or five years, he will approach ſo nearly to *Róhinì* that great miſchief may be feared from ſo noxious a planet, who has nothing in this age to apprehend from a hero in a ſelf-moving car with an irreſiſtible weapon: they

they add, that MANGALA, or *Mars*, the child of PRIT'HIVÌ, has alſo been prevented from traverſing the waggon of *Róhinì*, but that VRIHASPATI, SUCRA, and BUDHA, or *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and *Mercury*, paſs it freely and innocently, while it is the conſtant path of SÓMA, or the Moon, of whom the beautiful *Róhinì*, or *Aldeberhân*, is the favourite conſort.

The hiſtory of DASARAT'H being immediately connected with that of RA'MACHANDRA, and conſequently of the firſt colonies who ſettled in *India*, it may properly conclude this third ſection, which has been confined to the demigods and ſages, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the countries bordering on the *Nile* of *Ethiopia*; and, whatever may be thought of ſome etymological *conjectures*, which I have generally confirmed by facts and circumſtances, it has been proved, I truſt, by poſitive *evidence*, that the ancient *Indians* were acquainted with thoſe countries, with the courſe of that celebrated river, and with *Miſra*, or *Egypt*.

REMARKS

REMARKS

ON THE PRECEDING ESSAY,

BY THE PRESIDENT.

SINCE I am persuaded, gentlemen, that the learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, which you have just attentively heard, has afforded you equal delight with that which I have myself received from it, I cannot refrain from endeavouring to increase your satisfaction, by confessing openly, that I have at length abandoned the greatest part of that natural distrust, and incredulity, which had taken possession of my mind, before I had examined the sources from which our excellent associate, Lieutenant WILFORD, has drawn so great a variety of new and interesting opinions. Having lately read, again and again, both alone, and with a *Pandit*, the numerous original passages in the *Puránas*, and other *Sanscrit* books, which the writer of the dissertation adduces in support of his assertions, I am happy in bearing testimony to his perfect good faith, and general accuracy, both in his extracts, and in the translations of them; nor should I decline the trouble of annexing literal versions of them all, if our Third Volume were not already filled with a sufficient store of curious and (my own part being excepted) of valuable papers: there are two, however, of Mr. WILFORD's extracts from the *Purá-nas*, which deserve a verbal translation; and I, therefore, exhibit them word for word, with a full conviction of their genuineness and antiquity.

The first of them is a little poem, in the form of the hymns ascribed to ORPHEUS, in praise of the *Nilá*, which all the *Bráhmens* allow to be a sacred river in *Cusha-dwíp*, and which we may confidently pronounce

to

to be the *Nile*: it is taken from the *Scanda-purán*, and ſuppoſed to be the compoſition of VISVA'MITRA, the father of SACONTALA', with whoſe life you are well acquainted:

1. "*Cálì*, *Criſhná*, likewiſe NÍLA'; *'Syamá*, *Cálá*, "and *Aſitá* alſo: *Anja-nábha* and *'Syámalá*: *Mécha-* "*cà* too, and *Pávanì*;

2. "*Aghahá* and *Mócſhadá*.—Theſe twelve proſpe- "rous names of the *Cálicà*, in whatever receptacle of "water

3. "A man ſhall repeat at the time of bathing, he "ſhall gain the fruit of an ablution in the *Cálì*. No "ſtream on earth is equal to the river *Cálì*, as a giver "of increaſe to virtue.

4. "He, who has bathed in her *ſtream*, is wholly "releaſed from the murder of a *Bráhmen*, and every "other crime: they, who have been offenders in "the higheſt degree, *are purified by her*, and con- "ſequently who have committed rather inferior "ſins.

5. "They, who have arrived on the bank of the "river *Cálì*, are indubitably releaſed from ſin; and "even by a ſight of the river *Cálì*, an aſſemblage of "crimes is quite effaced:

6. "But to declare the fruit gained by bathing in her "*waters*, is impoſſible even for BRA'HMA. Theſe de- "lightful *and* exquiſite names whatever men

7. "Shall repeat, even they are *conſidered as* duly "bathed in the river *Cálì*: conſtantly, therefore, muſt "they be repeated with all *poſſible* attention."

Here

Here I must observe, that the couplets of the *Véda*, which our learned friend has quoted at the beginning of his Essay, are in a similar strain to those of VISVA'MITRA; nor have a doubt of their authenticity, because the fifth line is clearly in a very ancient dialect, and the original ends in the manner of the *Hindu* Scripture, with a repetition of the two last words; but either we must reject a redundant syllable in the concluding verse, (though such a redundance often occurs in the *Véda*,) or we must give a different version of it. The line is

Sitásitasamáyógát param yáti nanivertatè,

which may thus be rendered: "By whose union of "white and dark azure *waters*, a mortal, *who bathes* "*in them*, attains the Most High, *from whose presence* "he returns not *to this terrestrial mansion*."

Of the second passage, from the *Padma-purán*, the following translation is minutely exact:

1. "To SATYAVARMAN, that sovereign of the "*whole* earth, *were* born three sons; the eldest, SHERMA; then, C'HARMA; and, *thirdly*, JYA'PETI by "name:

2. "*They were* all men of good morals, excellent "in virtue and *virtuous* deeds, skilled in the use of "weapons to strike with or to be thrown; brave men, "eager for victory in battle.

3. "But SATYAVARMAN, being continually de-"lighted with devout meditation, *and* seeing his sons "fit *for dominion*, laid upon them the burden of go-"vernment,

4. "*Whilſt* He remained honoring and ſatisfying the "Gods, and prieſts, and kine. One day by the act of "deſtiny, the king, having drunk mead,

5. "Became ſenſeleſs, *and* lay aſleep naked: then "was he ſeen by C'HARMA, and by him were his two "brothers called,

6. "*To whom he ſaid:* What now has befallen? "In what ſtate is this our ſire? By thoſe two was "he hidden with clothes, and called to his ſenſes again "and again.

7. "Having recovered his intellect, and perfectly "knowing what had paſſed, he curſed C'HARMA, *ſay-*"*ing:* Thou ſhalt be the ſervant of ſervants;

8. "*And*, ſince thou waſt a laugher in their preſence, "from laughter ſhalt thou acquire a name. Then he "gave to SHERMA the wide domain on the ſouth of the "ſnowy mountain,

9. "And to JYA'PETI he gave all on the north of the "ſnowy mountain; but he, by the power of religious "contemplation, attained ſupreme bliſs."

Now you will probably think, that even the conciſeneſs and ſimplicity of this narrative are excelled by the *Moſaick* relation of the ſame adventure; but, whatever may be our opinion of the old *Indian* ſtyle, this extract moſt clearly proves, that the SATYAVRATA, or SATYAVARMAN, of the *Puráns* was the ſame perſonage (as it has been aſſerted in a former publication) with the NOAH of Scripture, and we conſequently fix the utmoſt limit of *Hindu* Chronology; nor can it be with reaſon inferred from the identity of the ſtories, that the divine legiſlator borrowed

borrowed any part of his work from the *Egyptians*: he was deeply verſed, no doubt, in all their learning, ſuch as it was; but he wrote what he knew to be truth itſelf, independently of their tales, in which truth was blended with fables; and their age was not ſo remote from the days of the Patriarch, but that every occurrence in his life might naturally have been preſerved by traditions from father to ſon.

We may now be aſſured, that the old *Hindus* had a knowledge of *Miſr* and of the *Nile*; that the legends of CEPHEUS and CASSIOPEIA (to ſelect one example out of many) were the ſame with thoſe of CAPE'YA and CA'SYAPÌ; that PERSEUS and ANDROMEDA were no other than PA'RASICA and ANTARMADA'; and that Lord BACON, whom, with all his faults, (and grievous faults they were,) we may juſtly call *the great architect of the temple of knowledge*, concluded rightly, that the Mythology of the *Greeks*, which their oldeſt writers do not pretend to have invented, was no more than a *light air, which had paſſed from a more ancient people into the flutes of the* Grecians, and which they modulated into ſuch deſcants as beſt ſuited their fancies and the ſtate of their new ſettlements: but we muſt ever attend to the diſtinction between *evidence* and *conjecture*; and I am not yet fully ſatisfied with many parts of Mr. WILFORD's Eſſay, which are founded on ſo uncertain a baſis as *conjectural* Etymology; though I readily admit, that his etymologies are always ingenious, often plauſible, and may hereafter, perhaps, be confirmed by hiſtorical proof. Let me conclude theſe remarks with applying to Him the words of the memorable writer whom I have juſt named, and with expreſſing an opinion, in which I have no doubt of your concurrence, "That, with perſevering induſtry, and with ſcrupulous "attention to genealogies, monuments, inſcriptions, "names and titles, derivations of words, traditions and "archives, fragments of hiſtory, and ſcattered paſſa-

"ges from rare books on very different ſubjects, he
"has preſerved a venerable *tablet from the ſhipwreck of*
"time; a work, operoſe and painful to the author, but
"extremely delightful to his readers, and highly de-
"ſerving their grateful acknowledgments."

XIV.

XIV.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANT BUTEA.

By Dr. ROXBURGH.

I. THE *Maduga* of the *Gentoos*, and *Plaso* of the *Hortus Malabaricus*,* is a middle sized, or rather a large, tree, not very common on the low-lands of this coast, but much more so up amongst the mountains: it casts its leaves during the cold season; they come out again with the flowers about the months of *March* and *April*, and the seed is ripe in *June* or *July*.

Trunk irregular, generally a little crooked, covered with ash-coloured, spongy, thick, slightly scabrous bark, the middle strata of which contain a red juice hereafter to be mentioned.

Branches very irregularly bent in various directions; young shoots downy.

Leaves alternate, spreading, threed, from eight to sixteen inches long. Leaflets emarginated, or rounded at the apex, leathery, above shining and pretty smooth, below slightly hoary, entire: the pair are obliquely oval, from four to seven inches long, and from three to four and a half broad; the exterior one inverse hearted, or, in other words, transversely oval, and considerably larger than the lateral.

Common

* The Butea *Frondosa* of Koenig.

Common Petiole round, when young, downy, the length of the leaflets.

Stipules of the Petiole ſmall, recurved, downy.

——— of the Leaflets awled.

RACEME terminal, axillary, and form tuberoſities over the naked woody branchlets, ſtanding in every direction, rigid, covered with a ſoft greeniſh purple down.

FLOWERS *Papilionaceous*, pendulous, pedicelled, faſcicled, large, their ground of a beautiful deep red, ſhaded with orange and ſilver-coloured down, which gives them a moſt elegant appearance.

PEDICELS round, about an inch long, articulated near the apex, and covered with the ſame greeniſh velvet-like down.

BRACTS, one below the inſertion of each pedicel, lanced, falling, two ſimilar but ſmaller, preſſing on the Calyx, falling alſo.

CALYX: *Perianth* belled, leathery, two-lipped, *upper* lip large, ſcarce emarginated; *under* three-toothed, covered with the ſame dark green down that the raceme and pedicels are covered with, withering.

COROL:

Banner reflected, egged, pointed, very little longer, than the wings.

Wings aſcending, lanced, the length of the keel.

Keel below two parted, aſcending, large, mooned, the length of the wings and banner.

STAMENS: filaments one and nine, aſcending in a regular ſemicircle, about as long as the corol.

Anthers equal, linear, erect.

Pistil: *Germ* ſhort, thick, pedicelled, lanced, downy. *Style* aſcending, a little larger than the filaments. *Stigma* ſmall, glandulous.

Pericarp, *legume* pedicelled, large, pendulous, all, but the apex where the ſeed is lodged, leafy, downy, about ſix inches long by two broad, never opening of itſelf.

Seed one, lodged at the point of the legume, oval, much compreſſed, ſmooth, brown, from an inch and a quarter to an inch and a half long, and about one broad.

From natural fiſſures, and wounds made in the bark of this tree, during the hot ſeaſon, there iſſues a moſt beautiful red juice, which ſoon hardens into a ruby-coloured brittle aſtringent gum: but it ſoon loſes its beautiful colour, if expoſed to the air: to preſerve the colour, it muſt be gathered as ſoon as it becomes hard, and kept cloſely corked up in a bottle.

This gum, held in a flame of a candle, ſwells and burns away ſlowly, without ſmell or the leaſt flame, into a coal, and then into fine light white aſhes: held in the mouth it ſoon diſſolves; it taſtes ſtrongly, but ſimply, aſtringent; heat does not ſoften it, but rather renders it more brittle; pure water diſſolves it perfectly; the ſolution is of a deep red colour; it is in a great meaſure ſoluble in ſpirits, but this ſolution is paler, and a little turbid; the watery ſolution alſo becomes turbid when ſpirit is added, and the ſpirituous more clear by the addition of water; diluted vitriolic acid renders both ſolutions turbid, mild cauſtic vegetable alkali changes the colour of the watery ſolution to a clear deep fiery red:* the ſpirituous it alſo deepens, but in a leſs degree: *Sal*

* With an alkalized decoction of this gum, I tried to dye cotton cloth prepared with alum, with ſugar of lead, and with a ſolution of tin

Sal Martis changes the watery ſolution into a good durable ink.

Theſe are, I think, proofs that a very ſmall proportion of reſin is preſent in this ſubſtance: in this it differs eſſentially from the gum reſin called *Kino*, or *Gummi rubrum aſtringens*, which the *Edinburgh* College has taken into their materia medica (I have uſed the recent gum in making my experiments, which may make ſome difference); but as this can be moſt perfectly diſſolved in watery menſtrua, it may prove of uſe where a ſpirituous ſolution of the former (being the moſt complete) cannot be ſo properly adminiſtered, conſequently it may prove a valuable acquiſition alſo.

Infuſions of the flowers, either freſh or dried, dyed cotton cloth, previouſly impregnated with a ſolution of alum or alum and tartar, of a moſt beautiful bright yellow, which was more or leſs deep according to the ſtrength of the infuſion: a little alkali added to the infuſion, changes it to a deep reddiſh orange; it then dyed unprepared cotton cloth of the ſame colour, which the leaſt acid changes to a yellow or lemon: theſe beautiful colours I have not been able to render perfectly permanent.

Amongſt numberleſs experiments, I expreſſed a quantity of the juice of the freſh flowers, which was diluted with alum water, and rendered perfectly clear by depuration: it was then evaporated by the heat of the ſun, into a ſoft extract; this proves a brighter water-colour than any gamboge I have met with; it is one year ſince I firſt uſed it, and it remains bright.

Infuſions

tin in *aqua regia*, but the reds produced thereby were bad: that where alum was employed, was the beſt.

Infuſions of the dried flowers yielded me an extract very little, if any thing, inferior to the laſt mentioned; they yield alſo a very fine durable yellow lake, and all theſe in a very large proportion.

The *Lac* inſects are frequently found on the ſmall branches and the petioles of the leaves of this tree: whether the natural juices of its bark contribute to improve the colour of their red colouring matter, I cannot ſay; it would require a ſet of experiments accurately made on ſpecimens of lac gathered from the various trees it is found on, at the ſame time and as nearly as poſſible from the ſame place, to determine this point.

I do not find that the natives make any uſe of the gum or flowers, although they promiſe to be valuable, the former as a medicine, and the latter as a pigment and dying drug.

II. BUTEA SUPERBA,* *Tiga Maduga* of the *Gentoos*, is a very large twining ſhrub, a native of the mountains. Flowering time, the beginning of the hot ſeaſon.

ROOT ſpindle-form, very large.

STEM twining, as thick as, or thicker than, a man's leg, woody, very long, running over large trees. Bark, aſh-coloured, pretty ſmooth.

BRANCHES like the ſtem, but ſmall, and with a ſmoother bark.

LEAVES alternate, threed, remote, very large.

LEAFLETS

* So named by Dr. ROXBURGH.

LEAFLETS downy, in other respects as in *Butea Frondosa*, but greatly larger: the exterior one is generally about twenty inches long, and broad in proportion, the lateral somewhat less.

RACEMES as in the former, but much larger.

FLOWERS also the same, only much larger, and more numerous.

CALYX divided as the other, but the divisions longer, and much more pointed.

COROL the same.

LEGUMES and seed as in the former, but rather larger.

When this species is in full flower, I do not think the vegetable world offers a more gaudy show: the flowers are incomparably beautiful, very large, and very numerous; the colours are so exceedingly vivid, that my best painter has not been able, with his utmost skill, to come any thing like near their brightness.

From fissures, &c. in the bark, the same sort of ruby-coloured astringent gum exudes: the flowers also yield the same beautiful yellow dye and pigment.

Dr. ROXBURGH's Description of the NERIUM *Tinctorium* would have been subjoined; but the publication of it is delayed, until the Society have been favoured with the result of his father experiments.

XV.

ON THE MANUFACTURE OF INDIGO AT AMBORE.

BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL CLAUDE MARTIN.

I PRESENT the Society with a ſhort deſcription of the proceſs obſerved in the culture and manufacture of Indigo in this part of *India*. The *Ambore* diſtrict is compriſed within a range of ſurrounding hills of a moderate height. The river *Pallar*, declining from its apparent ſoutherly direction, enters this diſtrict about three miles from the eaſtward, waſhes the *Ambore Pettah*, a ſmall neat village, diſtant three miles to the ſouthward of the fort of that name, ſituated in a beautiful valley; the ſkirts of the hills covered with the Palmeria and Date trees, from the produce of which a conſiderable quantity of coarſe ſugar is made; this tract is fertilized by numerous rills of water conducted from the river along the margin of the heights, and throughout the intermediate extent: this element being conveyed in theſe artificial canals (three feet deep,) affording a pure and cryſtal current of excellent water for the ſupply of the Rice-fields, Tobacco, Mango, and Cocoa-nut, plantations; the higheſt ſituated lands affording Indigo, apparently without any artificial watering, and attaining maturity at this ſeaſon notwithſtanding the intenſeneſs of the heat, the thermometer under cover of a tent riſing to 100, and out of it to 120; the plant affording even in the drieſt ſpots good foliage, although more luxuriant in moiſter ſituations. I am juſt returned from examining the manufacture of this article. Firſt, the plant is boiled in earthen pots of about eighteen inches diameter, diſpoſed on the ground in excavated ranges,

ranges, from twenty to thirty feet long, and one broad, according to the number used. When the boiling process has extracted all the colouring matter ascertainable by the colour exhibited, the extract is immediately poured into an adjoining small jar fixed in the ground for its reception, and is thence laded in small pots into larger jars disposed on adjoining higher ground, being first filtered through a cloth; the jar, when three-fourths full, is agitated with a split bamboo extended into a circle, of a diameter from thirteen to twenty inches, the hoop twisted with a sort of coarse straw, with which the manufacturer proceeds to beat or agitate the extract, until a granulation of the fecula takes place, the operation continuing nearly for the space of three-fourths of an hour; a preciptant, composed of red earth and water, in the quantity of four quart bottles, is poured into the jar, which after mixture is allowed to stand the whole night, and in the morning the superincumbent fluid is drawn off through three or four apertures perforated in the side of the jar in a vertical direction, the lowest reaching to within five inches of the bottom, sufficient to retain the fecula, which is carried to the houses, and dried in bags.

This is the whole of the process recurred to in this part, which, I think, if adopted in *Bengal*, might in no small degree supersede the necessity of raising great and expensive buildings, in a word, save the expenditure of so much money in dead stock, before they can make any Indigo in the *European* method; to which I have to add, that Indigo thus obtained possesses a very fine quality.

As I think these observations may be useful to the manufacturers in *Bengal*, I could wish to see them printed in the Transactions of the *Asiatick* Society.

Ambore,
2d *April*, 1791.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT OF A TREATISE

ON THE

MANUFACTURE OF INDIGO,

BY MR. DE COSSIGNY.

" THIS experiment (the *Indian* procefs) infallibly
" fhows, that Indigo may be produced by dif-
" ferent methods, and how much it is to be regretted
" that the *European* artifts fhould remain conftantly
" wedded to their *method* or *routine*, without having
" yet made the neceffary inquiries towards attaining
" perfection. Many travellers on the coaft of *Coro-*
" *mandel* having been ftruck with the apparent fim-
" plicity of the means ufed by the *Indians* in prepar-
" ing Indigo, from having feen their artifts employed
" in the open air with only earthen jars, and from not
" having duly examined and weighed the extent of the
" detail of their procefs, apprehended that it is effected
" by eafier means than with the large vats of mafonry
" and the machinery employed by *Europeans*: but
" they have been greatly miftaken, the whole appearing
" a delufive conclufion from the following obfervation,
" viz. that one man can, in the *European* method of
" manufacture, bring to iffue one vat containing fifty
" bundles of plant, which, according to their nature
" and quality, may afford from ten to thirty pounds
" of Indigo; whereas, by the *Indian* procefs, one em-
" ployed during the fame time would probably only
" produce one pound of Indigo: the *European* method
" is therefore the moft fimple, as well as every art where
" machinery is ufed inftead of manual labour."

XVI.

NOTE.

Experience alone muft decide between the oppofite opinions of Colonel MARTIN and M. DE COSSIGNY.

XVI.

DISCOURSE THE NINTH,

ON THE

ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

Delivered 23d February, 1792.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

YOU have attended, gentlemen, with so much indulgence to my discourses on the five *Asiatick* nations, and on the various tribes established along their several borders, or interspersed over their mountains, that I cannot but flatter myself with an assurance of being heard with equal attention, while I trace to one centre the three great families from which those nations appear to have proceeded, and then hazard a few conjectures on the different courses which they may be supposed to have taken toward the countries in which we find them settled at the dawn of all genuine history.

Let us begin with a short review of the propositions, to which we have gradually been led, and separate such as are morally certain from such as are only probable: that the first race of *Persians* and *Indians*, to whom we may add the *Romans* and *Greeks*, the *Goths*, and the old *Egyptians* or *Ethiops*, originally spoke the same language, and professed the same popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of incontestible proof; that the *Jews* and *Arabs*, the *Assyrians*, or second *Persian* race, the peo-

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ple who ſpoke *Syriack*, and a numerous tribe of *Abyſſinians*, uſed one primitive dialect, wholly diſtinct from the idiom juſt mentioned, is, I believe, undiſputed, and I am ſure, indiſputable; but that the ſettlers in *China* and *Japan* had a common origin with the *Hindus*, is no more than highly probable; and that all the *Tartars*, as they are inaccurately called, were primarily of a third ſeparate branch, totally differing from the two others in language, manners, and features, may indeed be plauſibly conjectured, but cannot, from the reaſons alledged in a former eſſay, be perſpicuouſly ſhown, and for the preſent, therefore, muſt be merely aſſumed. Could theſe facts be verified by the beſt attainable evidence, it would not, I preſume, be doubted, that the whole earth was peopled by a variety of ſhoots from the *Indian*, *Arabian*, and *Tartarian* branches, or by ſuch intermixtures of them, as, in a courſe of ages, might naturally have happened.

Now I admit without heſitation the aphoriſm of LINNÆUS, that, "in the beginning God created one pair "only of every living ſpecies, which has a diverſity "of ſex;" but, ſince that incomparable naturaliſt argues principally from the wonderful diffuſion of vegetables, and from an hypotheſis, that the water on this globe has been continually ſubſiding, I venture to produce a ſhorter and cloſer argument in ſupport of his doctrine. That *Nature*, of which ſimplicity appears a diſtinguiſhing attribute, *does nothing in vain*, is a maxim in philoſophy; and againſt thoſe who deny maxims we cannot diſpute; but *it is vain* and ſuperfluous *to do by many means, what may be done by fewer*, and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the ſchools of philoſophers: *we muſt not* therefore, ſays our great NEWTON, *admit more cauſes of natural things, than thoſe which are true, and ſufficiently account for natural phenomena;* but it is true, that one pair *at leaſt* of every living ſpecies muſt at firſt have been

been created; and that one human pair was sufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no considerable length, (on the very moderate supposition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of ancestors left on an average two children, and each of them two more,) is evident from the rapid increase of numbers in geometrical progression, so well known to those who have ever taken the trouble to sum a series of as many terms as they suppose generations of men in two or three thousand years. It follows, that the Author of Nature (for all nature proclaims its divine Author) created but one pair of our species; yet, had it not been (among other reasons) for the devastations, which history has recorded, of water and fire, wars, famine, and pestilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants. If the human race then be, as we may confidently assume, of one natural species, they must all have proceeded from one pair; and if perfect justice be, as it is most indubitably an essential attribute of GOD, that pair must have been gifted with sufficient wisdom and strength to be virtuous, and, as far as their nature admitted, happy, but intrusted with freedom of will to be vicious, and consequently degraded: whatever might be their option, they must people in time the region where they first were established, and their numerous descendants must necessarily seek new countries, as inclination might prompt, or accident lead, them; they would of course migrate in separate families and clans, which, forgetting by degrees the language of their common progenitor, would form new dialects to convey new ideas, both simple and complex: natural affection would unite them at first, and a sense of reciprocal utility, the great and only cement of social union in the absence of publick honour and justice, for which in evil times it is a general substitute, would combine them at length in communities more or less regular; laws would be proposed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole; and

 governments

governments would be variously arranged for the happiness or misery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wisdom, or depravity and folly; so that, in less than three thousand years, the world would exhibit the same appearances which we may actually observe on it in the age of the great *Arabian* impostor.

On that part of it to which our united researches are generally confined, we see *five* races of men peculiarly distinguished, in the time of MUHAMMED, for their multitude and extent of dominion; but we have reduced them to *three*, because we can discover no more, that essentially differ in language, religion, manners, and other known characteristicks: now these three races, how variously soever they may at present be dispersed and intermixed, must (if the preceding conclusions be justly drawn) have migrated originally from a central country, to find which is the problem proposed for solution. Suppose it solved; and give any arbitrary name to that centre: let it, if you please, be *Iran*. The three primitive languages, therefore, must at first have been concentrated in *Iran*, and there only in fact we see traces of them in the earliest historical age; but, for the sake of greater precision, conceive the whole empire of *Iran*, with all its mountains and valleys, plains and rivers, to be every way infinitely diminished; the first winding courses, therefore, of all the nations proceeding from it by land, and nearly at the same time, will be little right lines, but without intersections, because those courses could not have thwarted and crossed one another: if then you consider the seats of all the migrating nations as points in a surrounding figure, you will perceive, that the several rays, diverging from *Iran*, may be drawn to them without any intersection; but this will not happen, if you assume as a centre *Arabia*, or *Egypt*; *India*, *Tartary*, or *China*: it follows, that *Iran*, or *Persia*, (I contend for *the meaning*, *not the name*,) was the central country which we sought. This

mode of reaſoning I have adopted; not from any affectation (as you will do me the juſtice to believe) of a ſcientifick diction, but for the ſake of conciſeneſs and variety, and from a wiſh to avoid repetitions; the ſubſtance of my argument having been detailed in a different form at the cloſe of another diſcourſe; nor does the argument in any form riſe to demonſtration, which the queſtion by no means admits: it amounts, however, to ſuch a proof, grounded on written evidence and credible teſtimony, as all mankind hold ſufficient for deciſions affecting property, freedom, and life.

Thus then have we proved, that the inhabitants of *Aſia*, and conſequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, ſprang from three branches of one ſtem: and that thoſe branches have ſhot into their preſent ſtate of luxuriance, in a period comparitively ſhort, is apparent from a fact univerſally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, or even probable tradition, of nations planted, empires and ſtates raiſed, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve, or at moſt fifteen or ſixteen, centuries before the birth of CHRIST; and from another fact, which cannot be controverted, that ſeven hundred or a thouſand years would have been fully adequate to the ſuppoſed propagation, diffuſion, and eſtabliſhment of the human race.

The moſt ancient hiſtory of that race, and the oldeſt compoſition perhaps in the world, is a work in *Hebrew*, which we may ſuppoſe at firſt, for the ſake of our argument, to have no higher authority than any other work of equal antiquity that the reſearches of the curious had accidentally brought to light: it is aſcribed to MUSAH; for ſo he writes his own name, which, after the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we have changed into MOSES; and, though it was manifeſtly his object to give an hiſ-

torical account of a ſingle family, he has introduced it with a ſhort view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into *eleven* chapters. After deſcribing with awful ſublimity the creation of this univerſe, he aſſerts, that one pair of every animal ſpecies was called from nothing into exiſtence; that the human pair were ſtrong enough to be happy, but free to be miſerable; that, from deluſion and temerity, they diſobeyed their ſupreme Benefactor, whoſe goodneſs could not pardon them conſiſtently with his juſtice; and that they received a puniſhment adequate to their diſobedience, but ſoftened by a myſterious promiſe to be accompliſhed in their deſcendants. We cannot but believe, on the ſuppoſition juſt made of a hiſtory uninſpired, that theſe facts were delivered by tradition from the firſt pair, and related by MOSES in a figurative ſtyle; not in that ſort of allegory which rhetoricians deſcribe as a mere aſſemblage of metaphors, but in the ſymbolical mode of writing adopted by eaſtern ſages, to embelliſh and dignify hiſtorical truth; and, if this were a time for ſuch illuſtrations, we might produce the ſame account of the *creation* and the *fall*, expreſſed by ſymbols very nearly ſimilar, from the *Purànas* themſelves, and even from the *Véda*, which appears to ſtand next in antiquity to the five books of MOSES.

The ſketch of antediluvian hiſtory, in which we find many dark paſſages, is followed by the narrative of a *deluge*, which deſtroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs; an hiſtorical fact admitted as true by every nation to whoſe literature we have acceſs, and particularly by the ancient *Hindus*, who have allotted an entire *Purána* to the detail of that event, which they relate, as uſual, in ſymbols or allegories. I concur moſt heartily with thoſe, who inſiſt, that, in proportion as any fact mentioned in hiſtory ſeems repugnant to the courſe of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the ſtronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it: but we

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hear without incredulity, that cities have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waſte by hurricanes, and whole iſlands depopulated by earthquakes: if then we look at the firmament ſprinkled with innumerable ſtars; if we conclude by a fair analogy, that every ſtar is a ſun, attracting, like ours, a ſyſtem of inhabited planets; and if our ardent fancy, ſoaring hand in hand with ſound reaſon, waft us beyond the viſible ſphere into regions of immenſity, diſcloſing other celeſtial expanſes, and other ſyſtems of ſuns and worlds, on all ſides without number or end, we cannot but conſider the ſubmerſion of our little ſperoïd as an infinitely leſs event in reſpect of the immeaſurable univerſe, than the deſtruction of a city or an iſle in reſpect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be ſuppoſed improbable, in proportion to the magnitude of ſo ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the ſuppoſed improbability; but, as we cannot here expatiate on thoſe proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the *Moſaick* hiſtory; I mean the firſt propagation and early diſperſion of mankind *in ſeparate families* to ſeparate places of reſidence.

Three ſons of the juſt and virtuous man, whoſe lineage was preſerved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in *three* large diviſions variouſly ſubdivided: the children of YA'FET ſeem, from the traces of *Sclavonian* names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have ſpread themſelves far and wide, and to have produced the race, which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarian*: the colonies, formed by the ſons of HAM and SHEM, appear to have been nearly ſimultaneous; and, among thoſe of the latter branch, we find ſo ſo many names inconteſtibly preſerved at this hour in *Arabia*, that we cannot heſitate in pronouncing them the ſame people whom hitherto we have denominated *Arabs*; while the former branch,

branch, the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of CUSH, MISR, and RAMA, (names remaining unchanged in *Sanscrit*, and highly revered by the *Hindus*,) were, in all probability, the race which I call *Indian*, and to which we may now give any other name that may seem more proper and comprehensive.

The general introduction to the *Jewish* history closes with a very concise and obscure account of a presumptuous and mad attempt, by a particular colony, to build a splendid city, and raise a fabrick of immense height, independently of the divine aid, and, it should seem, in defiance of the divine power; a project, which was baffled by means appearing at first view inadequate to the purpose, but ending in violent dissention among the projectors, and in the ultimate separation of them: this event also seems to be recorded by the ancient *Hindus* in two of their *Purânas*; and it will be proved, I trust, on some future occasion, that *the lion bursting from a pillar to destroy a blaspheming giant*, and *the dwarf who beguiled and held in derision* the magnificent BELI, are one and the same story related in a symbolical style.

Now these primeval events are described as having happened between the *Oxus* and *Euphrates*, the mountains of *Caucasus* and the borders of *India*, that is, within the limits of *Iran*; for, though most of the *Mosaick* names have been considerably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged; we still find *Harrán* in *Mesopotamia*, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the site of ancient *Babel*.

Thus, on the preceding supposition, that the first eleven chapters of the book which is thought proper to call *Genesis*, are merely a preface to the oldest civil history now extant, we see the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable,

probable, and in part certain; but the *connection* of the *Mosaick* history with that of the Gospel by a chain of sublime predictions unquestionably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, must induce us to think the *Hebrew* narrative more than human in its origin, and consequently true in every substantial part of it, though possibly expressed in figurative language; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the most pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the cause of revealed religion. If MOSES then was endued with supernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but absolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from *Iran* as from a centre, whence they migrated at first in three great colonies; and that those three branches grew from a common stock, which had been miraculously preserved in a general convulsion and inundation of this globe.

Having arrived by a different path at the same conclusion with Mr. BRYANT as to one of those families, the most ingenious and enterprising of the three, but arrogant, cruel, and idolatrous, which we both conclude to be various shoots from the *Hamian* or *Amonian* branch, I shall add but little to my former observations on his profound and agreeable work, which I have thrice perused with increased attention and pleasure, though not with perfect acquiescence in the other less important parts of his plausible system. The sum of his argument seems reducible to three heads. First; "if the deluge "really happened at the time recorded by MOSES, those "nations whose monuments are preserved, or whose "writings are accessible, must have retained memorials "of an event so stupendous, and comparitively so re- "cent; and in fact they have retained such memorials." This reasoning seems just, and the fact is true beyond controversy. Secondly; "those memorials were ex- "pressed by the race of HAM, before the use of letters, "in rude sculpture or painting, and mostly in symbo-

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"ical figures of the *ark*, the eight perfons concealed in "it, and the birds which firft were difmiffed from it: "this fact is probable, but, I think, not fufficiently af-"certained." Thirdly; "all ancient Mythology (ex-"cept what was purely *Sabian)* had its primary fource "in thofe various fymbols mifunderftood; fo that an-"cient Mythology ftands now in the place of fymboli-"cal fculpture or painting, and muft be explained on "the fame principles on which we fhould begin to de-"cypher the originals, if they now exifted." This part of the fyftem is, in my opinion, carried too far; nor can I perfuade myfelf (to give one inftance out of many) that the beautiful allegory of CUPID and PSYCHE had the remoteft allufion to the deluge, or that HYMEN fignified the *veil* which covered the Patriarch and his family. Thefe propofitions, however, are fupported with great ingenuity and folid erudition; but, unprofitably for the argument, and unfortunately, perhaps, for the fame of the work itfelf, recourfe is had to etymological conjecture, than which no mode of reafoning is in general weaker or more delufive. He who profeffes to derive the words of any one language from thofe of another, muft expofe himfelf to the danger of perpetual errors, unlefs he be perfectly acquainted with both; yet my refpectable friend, though eminently fkilled in the idioms of *Greece* and *Rome*, has no fort of acquaintance with any *Afiatick* dialect, except *Hebrew*; and he has confequently made miftakes, which every learner of *Arabick* and *Perfian* muft inftantly detect. Among *fifty* radical words (*ma*, *taph*, and *ram*, being included) *eighteen* are purely of *Arabian* origin, *twelve* merely *Indian*, and *feventeen* both *Sanfcrit* and *Arabick*, but in fenfes totally different; while *two* are *Greek* only, and one *Egyptian*, or barbarous: if it be urged, that thofe *radicals* (which ought furely to have concluded, inftead of preceding, an *analytical* inquiry) are precious traces of the primitive language, from which all others were derived, or to which at leaft they were fubfequent,

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I can only declare my belief, that the language of NOAH is loſt irretrievably, and aſſure you, that, after a diligent ſearch, I cannot find a ſingle word uſed in common by the *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Tartar* families, before the intermixture of dialects occaſioned by *Mahomedan* conqueſts. There are, indeed, very obvious traces of the *Hamian* language, and ſome hundreds of words might be produced, which were formerly uſed promiſcuouſly by moſt nations of that race; but I beg leave, as a phylologer, to enter my proteſt againſt conjectural etymology in hiſtorical reſearches, and principally againſt the licentiouſneſs of etymologiſts in tranſpoſing and inſerting letters, in ſubſtituting at pleaſure any conſonant for another of the ſame order, and in totally diſregarding the vowels: for ſuch permutations few radical words would be more convenient than CUS, or CUSH, ſince, dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it inſtantly becomes *coot*, *gooſe*, and by tranſpoſition, *duck*, all water-birds, and *evidently* ſymbolical: it next is the *goat* worſhipped in *Egypt*, and, by a metatheſis, the *dog* adored as an emblem of SIRIUS, or, more obviouſly, a *cat*, not the domeſtick animal, but a ſort of ſhip, and the *Catos*, or great ſea-fiſh, of the *Dorians*. It will hardly be imagined, that I mean by this irony to inſult an author whom I reſpect and eſteem; but no conſideration ſhould induce me to aſſiſt by my ſilence in the diffuſion of error; and I contend, that almoſt any word or nation might be derived from any other, if ſuch licences as I am oppoſing were permitted in etymological hiſtories. When we find, indeed, the ſame words, letter for letter, and in a ſenſe preciſely the ſame, in different languages, we can ſcarce heſitate in allowing them a common origin; and, not to depart from the example before us, when we ſee CUSH, or CUS, (for the *Sanſcrit* name alſo is variouſly pronounced), among the ſons of BRA'HMA, that is, among the progenitors of the *Hindus*, and at the head of an ancient pedigree preſerved in the *Râmáyán*; when we meet with his name again in

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the family of RA'MA; whence we know, that the name is venerated in the highest degree, and given to a sacred grass, described as a *Poa* by KOENIG, which is used with a thousand ceremonies in the oblations to fire, ordained by MENU to form the sacrificial zone of the *Brahmans*, and solemnly declared in the *Véda* to have sprung up soon after the *deluge*, whence the *Pauránicks* consider it as the *bristly hair of the boar which supported the globe*: when we add, that one of the seven *dwípas*, or great peninsulas of this earth, has the same appellation, we can hardly doubt, that the CUSH of MOSES, and VA'LMIC, was the same personage, and an ancestor of the *Indian* race.

From the testimonies adduced in the six last annual discourses, and from the additional proofs laid before you, or rather opened, on the present occasion, it seems to follow, that the only human family after the flood established themselves in the northern parts of *Iran*; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three distinct branches, each retaining little at first, and losing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing severally on new expressions for new ideas; that the branch of YA'FET was *enlarged* in many scattered shoots over the north of *Europe* and *Asia*, diffusing themselves as far as the western and eastern seas, and, at length, in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both; that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no use of letters, but formed a variety of dialects, as their tribes were variously ramified; that, secondly, the children of HAM, who founded in *Iran* itself the monarchy of the first *Chaldeans*, invented letters, observed and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known *Indian* period of *four hundred and thirty-two thousand years*, or an *hundred and twenty* repetitions of the *saros*, and contrived the old system of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on idolatrous

trous veneratior for their sages and lawgivers; that they were dispersed at various intervals, and in various colonies, over land and ocean; that the tribes of MISR, CUSH, and RAMA, settled in *Africk* and *India*; while some of them, having improved the art of sailing, passed from *Egypt*, *Phenice*, and *Phrygia*, into *Italy* and *Greece*, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they supplanted some tribes, and united themselves with others; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into *Scandinavia*, and another, by the head of the *Oxus*, and through the passes of *Imaus*, into *Cashgar* and *Eighúr*, *Khatá*, and *Khoten*, as far as the territories of *Chín* and *Tancút*, where letters have been used, and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreasonable to believe, that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into *Mexico* and *Peru*, where traces were discovered of rude literature and mythology analagous to those of *Egypt* and *India*; that, thirdly, the old *Chaldean* empire being overthrown by the *Assyrians* under CAYU'MERS, other migrations took place, especially into *India*; while the rest of SHEM's progeny, some of whom had before settled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole *Arabian* peninsula, pressing close on the nations of *Syria* and *Phenice*; that, lastly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers, of an ardent spirit and a roving disposition, who disdained subordination, and wandered in separate clans, till they settled in distant isles, or in deserts and mountainous regions; that, on the whole, some colonies might have migrated before the death of their venerable progenitor, but that states and empires could scarce have assumed a regular form, till fifteen or sixteen hundred years before the *Christian* epoch; and that, for the first thousand years of that period, we have no history unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently distinguished, nation descended from ABRAHAM.

My

My deſign, gentlemen, of tracing the origin and progreſs of the five principal nations who have peopled *Aſia*, and of whom there were conſiderable remains in their ſeveral countries at the time of MUHAMMED'S birth, is now accompliſhed; ſuccinctly, from the nature of theſe eſſays; imperfectly, from the darkneſs of the ſubject and ſcantineſs of my materials, but clearly and comprehenſively enough to form a baſis for ſubſequent reſearches: you have ſeen, as diſtinctly as I am able to ſhow, *who* thoſe nations originally were, *whence* and *when* they moved towards their final ſtations; and, in my future annual diſcourſes, I propoſe to enlarge on the *particular advantages* to our country and to mankind, which may reſult from our ſedulous and united inquiries into the hiſtory, ſcience, and arts, of theſe *Aſiatick* regions, eſpecially of the *Britiſh* dominions in *India*, which we may conſider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common extertions to promote its true intereſts; and we ſhall concur, I truſt, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whoſe manly happineſs is our duty, and will of courſe be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor ſecurely free without rational knowledge.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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There are ſome Overſights, or Errors of the Preſs, both in Punctuation and Orthography, which the Reader is deſired to correct.

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